

United Service Institution  
of India.

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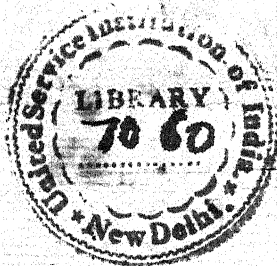
A  
NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
SUFFERINGS  
OF  
JAMES BRISTOW,  
BELONGING TO THE BENGAL ARTILLEY,  
DURING  
TEN YEARS CAPTIVITY  
WITH  
HYDER ALLY AND TIPPOO SAHEB.

“ ——— quis tanta fando  
“ Temperet à lacrymis ? —

VIRG.

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1793.





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# CONTENTS.

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## CHAP. I.

*Account of the author's birth and family—he enters into the service of the East India Company—joins the grand army under Sir Eyre Coote—is taken prisoner by a party of Hyder Ally's horse—conveyed with many more of his countrymen to Seringapatam—they are circumcised, and compelled to observe the rites of the Mahometan religion—death of several of the captives.*

p. 15.

A 2

CHAP.

## C H A P. II.

*Arrival of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, and of several seamen given up by Suffrein—mortality among the prisoners—death of Colonel Baillie—demise of Hyder Ally—he is succeeded by Tippoo Sultan—murder of General Matthews.*

P. 47.

## C H A P. III.

*Removal of the prisoners from Seringapatam to Mysore—various expeditions of Tippoo against the tributaries of the Nizam—cruel treatment of the prisoners—marriage of Tippoo's eldest son—his intolerance to his Hindoo subjects—his attack upon the Rajah of Travancore—rupture between him and the English—approach of General Meadows*

## CONTENTS.

v

*dows—action with Colonel Floyd—  
the prisoners conducted to the hill  
forts.* p. 77.

## CHAP. IV.

*Description of Seringapatam—the pri-  
soners leave that place and are sent to  
Outradroog—after various difficulties  
they effect their escape—the author  
loses his companions.* p. 130.

## CHAP. V.

*He is in danger of perishing by hunger,  
and is relieved by an Hindoo woman  
—escapes from two tygers—is seized  
by a party of Tippoo's polygars ; from  
whom he escapes—is received by a de-  
tachment of the Mabratta forces, pro-  
tected*

*ected by Captain Reid and the English troops—arrives at Fort William—concluding observations. p. 165.*

**United Service Institution  
of India.**

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TO

**COLONEL GEORGE DEARE,**

**COMMANDANT OF THE**

**BENGAL ARTILLERY.**

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**S I R,**

**T**HE person whose sufferings  
are here related, has the  
honour of belonging to the  
corps which is under your com-  
mand. Permit me, therefore, to  
claim your patronage to a nar-  
rative, published chiefly with a

**B**

**view**

view to benefit the children of a man, who were exposed to uncommon anxiety and distress during the long and painful captivity of ~~their~~ father. A farther motive for prefixing your name to the present Dedication, is the private gratification of,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

humble fervant,

THE COMPILER.

Fort William, 1792.

INTRO-

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE compiler of the following sheets is far from concluding, that the adversities and hardships which have marked the existence of an obscure individual, can be sufficiently interesting to claim the attention of those, whose easy situations scarcely admit of a just idea of the sufferings of the unfortunate; nor does he imagine that plain facts, such as an unlettered observer has been able to collect, during a rigorous captivity in a state, whose

government, politics, internal regulations, and every situation, have hitherto been imperfectly known to Europeans resident in Asia, can contain sufficient information to recompense the reader for his trouble. But he trusts that the compassion for the unfortunate, which has so eminently distinguished his countrymen, will operate sufficiently in this instance, to induce them to overlook the unimportance of a narrative, which claims no other merit than a strict adherence to truth.

After the "*Memoirs of the last War in Asia*," including a narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings, principally of the British officers, it may, perhaps, be thought superfluous to intrude a second detail of the same nature  
upon



upon the public, particularly as the great uniformity and sameness which reigns throughout the former, naturally suggests, that the journal of one week would have conveyed every necessary idea of the whole, and that consequently any additional account must be trifling and frivolous.

A captivity of ten years, during which period several removals from one place of imprisonment to another took place, and many changes in point of treatment occurred, includes much more variety than the account of what befel our officers, who remained under close confinement, till delivered up; and admitted more opportunities to see something of the country, to converse with the natives, whose language naturally

became familiar to a person who scarcely heard any other, and who every moment felt the inconvenience of being unable to make his wants known and understood, to examine particularly the strength and situation of the fortress of Seringapatam, to learn the fate and disposal of a number of fellow captives, not released at the conclusion of the peace, (some of whom had been prisoners many years, prior to the commencement of the war in 1780) and, in short, to be better informed in every respect, than gentlemen who were never suffered to step beyond the limits of their prison. Several of the vexations and acts of violence committed against the private soldiers, could not reach the knowledge of the officers, though  
many

many of them came to their ears, nor could they know what befel them subsequent to their release. The unremitted ill usage a number of unfortunate English subjects then underwent; the different threats, torments, and promises, employed to intimidate or cajole wretched and defenceless men, into a voluntary acceptance of the service of a detestable tyrant; the plans that were laid for dispatching every one of the captive Europeans throughout his dominions; and finally, the hazardous and patient efforts, by which the author succeeded at last in effecting an escape, with other subsequent adventures, are matters entirely new, and different from those contained in the narrative already alluded to. More worthy, indeed, of

public indulgence, would these remarks and the narrative have proved, had the capacity and genius of the author admitted a greater scope to his details.

The compiler has avoided prolixity as much as possible, and spared repetitions where he found any thing fully narrated in the journal of the memoirs already mentioned, which contain true and very accurate accounts of different occurrences which he never imagined could have come to the knowledge of people that were watched so closely as the British officers, particularly the circumstances attending the murder of General Matthews. The author's removal from the common prison, some months after his arrival at Seringapatam, prevented his discovering in what man-

manner, the officers acquired their information. Some repetitions may perhaps occur, but such only confirm facts of which the world never can have too many testimonies. These facts are of such an atrocious, base, and unparalleled nature, that every possible confirmation is requisite to give them credibility with men that find it difficult to suppose such acts of barbarity could exist, or be engendered in the mind of a man, who has been adjudged, at least, an able usurper, and the reduction of whose prostituted power, which is the object of the present war, has been reprobated by British senators.

It would be strange, indeed, if hostilities, in their nature deviating so egregiously from civilized warfare, should  
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be carried on with that inveteracy with which Hyder and his successor Tippoo have made war upon the English nation, without causes of complaint having (the compiler is well persuaded) in very few instances occurred on our side. The French journalists and authors of anecdotes have industriously propagated every circumstance which tended to depreciate the conduct of our Asiatic armies last war, and have allowed invention to take a very active part in their relations, without reflecting that no war whatever has been exempt from abuses, and that the very nation which till lately maintained indisputable pretensions to gentleness, urbanity, punctilious principles of honour, and liberal bravery, has not escaped

caped occasional, and very glaring deviations from their general practice, though it would be highly illiberal, from the misconduct of individuals, to fix a stigma on a whole people. He will also admit, that personal sufferings may have produced injudicious resentment, in particular instances, since the commencement of the present war; but he will by no means allow these extraordinary cases (admitting their existence) to be laid down as a general rule, nor will he consent to their being brought into competition with a fixed, methodical, cruel, and ferocious system of barbarous policy, which has been practised on settled principles.

That

That it should ever disgrace the fame and glory of so distinguished an officer as Admiral Suffrein, to consign some hundreds of prisoners to the disposal of an enemy so rancorous to the race of Europeans as Hyder Ally was notoriously known to be, (notwithstanding the flattering encomiums and favourable insinuations of the partial and incorrect M. Le Maitre de la Tour) must certainly produce astonishment and abhorrence in every mind, and mingle pity with the admiration his merits exact.

It only remains to be mentioned, that the author's early removal from Bengal to the grand army, where he will enjoy a satisfaction almost equivalent,



valent, in his opinion, to the sufferings he has undergone, of being useful to his country, in giving such information as he is able, and of fighting once more against an enemy that so shamefully tarnished his victories, has rendered it impracticable to gain a number of little additional lights and informations, which could not immediately occur on taking down the scattered notes of the author. When the whole came to be digested, these deficiencies fully manifested themselves, but it was then too late to remedy them. The mutilated newspaper account of the author, picked up from conversation, and ushered into the world in the same manner as those of some of the

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the persons particularly mentioned in this narrative, whose escape from Tip-poo has been published since this compilation was undertaken, are all of too insignificant and inaccurate a nature to be capable of hurting the narrative.

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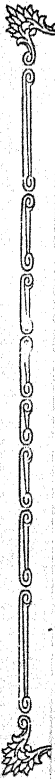
## NARRATIVE, &c.

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### CHAP. I.

*Account of the author's birth and family—he enters into the service of the East India Company—joins the grand army under Sir Eyre Coote—is taken prisoner by a party of Hyder Ally's horse—conveyed with many more of his countrymen to Seringapatam—they are circumcised, and compelled to observe the rites of the Mahometan religion—death of several of the captives.*

I WAS born in the year 1757 in Norwich, in the county of Norfolk. My father, who was a blacksmith, bound



bound me apprentice to a carpenter, with whom I did not, however, remain a complete twelvemonth, being allured, more by a desire to see the world, than the bounty of one shilling which I received, to enlist with a Captain Monney, then recruiting for the Honourable East India Company. When the Captain had collected to the number of fifty recruits, he marched us up to London, where we underwent an examination on the day of our arrival, and were, to my no small disappointment, sent down to Gravesend that very evening, and embarked on board the Prince of Wales Indiaman, under dispatch for Bengal, and commanded by Captain Scott, a gentleman who had lost an arm, as I afterwards understood, in a duel at Madras.

My whole stock, when on board, consisted in the jacket and trowsers I wore, with half-a-guinea in specie, which

which each man had received from the Company. Thus provided, I commenced soldier at the early age of fourteen years, and soon forgot both anxiety for myself, and concern for those I had left.

On the 1st of April, 1771, we sailed from England with a fair wind, and landed in Bengal, after what was then deemed a prosperous passage, of six months, on the 1st of October following. It was our good fortune to be treated with humanity on board, and to escape calamitous distempers during the voyage, which was marked with no disaster, except that one of the recruits, a very young man, who having rashly left his friends, jumped overboard and was lost whilst we were at anchor in False Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope.

Very soon after my arrival in Bengal I was, with other recruits, sent up to Dinapore, to complete the first Eu-

C

ropean

ropean regiment, then commanded by Colonel Champion, and appointed to Captain Moses Crawford's company on the very day he attained that rank.

I was by this time perfectly reconciled to my situation, for which I had not been without apprehensions, (in the moments of reflection) so natural to a young adventurer, who quits his native soil, and traverses the ocean to a distant region, which ignorance, and the prejudices of education, have taught him to dread. I frequently shuddered at the service I had engaged in, and considered the life of a common soldier, (so little to be envied at home) to be something truly deplorable in this country: but my uneasiness was soon dispelled, and my satisfaction increased in proportion to the magnitude of my fears: so different is the situation of a private soldier in Bengal from what our ideas represent, by comparing it with

with the same thing in Europe, that my surprize was incredible, when I found that a life which is commonly esteemed wretched, was not without great comforts, and might even be rendered desfireable.

The troops at Dinapore took the field shortly after my arrival, under the command of General Sir Robert Barker: it was then that I, for the first time in my life, beheld an Indian army; and the magnificence, as well as disorder, which reigned in Sujah Dowlah's camp, filled me with an astonishment on walking through his rich bazar one day, the view of which will ever dwell on my memory, as it differed so widely from the notions I had formed to myself of hostile preparations.

As the history of this campaign is equally unimportant and foreign to the present narrative, I shall pass it over, as well as what befel me for several

years afterwards, in silence: let it suffice, that having obtained a recommendation to Captain, now Lieutenant Colonel Hufsey, of the artillery, I renewed in that corps in 1779, from Captain Charles Weer's company of grenadiers, to which I had the honour of belonging for a twelvemonth, and on the 11th of October, 1780, being previously appointed camp colourman, embarked with Captain Hufsey's and another company of artillery, and six of infantry, on board the Kingston, for the purpose of escorting the commander in chief of India, Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, to Madras.

In the roads of Ballasore we met a violent gale of wind, which might have proved fatal to the British interest in the East, as all the hopes of the other presidency centered in the succours to arrive from Bengal; but it abated after a few days, and we experienced



rienced a good passage against the monsoon, or south westerly winds, landing at Fort St. George to the great joy of the whole settlement, on the 5th of November following, having brought the pilot with us, as his sloop had disappeared in the storm.

The general's first care was to collect the dismayed troops at St. Thomas's Mount, with a view immediately to arrest the progress of Hyder's devastations. [On the very day our detachment left the fort, Serjeant Dempster, of the same company with myself, of whom mention is made hereafter, and several of whose letters are printed in the "*Memoirs of the late War in Asia*," deserted and went over to Hyder.

We took the field under our veteran commander on the 17th of January, 1781, with all the troops that could be collected and spared for the purpose,

no more being left to garrison Fort St. George than were judged absolutely necessary. The grand army consisted of about seven or eight thousand effective men, one eighth part of which were cavalry, and sixty pieces of ordnance, with a proportion of military stores. This respectable body of men, formidable if opposed in battle array to the most numerous rabble of Asia, moved to the relief of Wandewash, then closely invested by Hyder Ally's troops. Five days afterwards Carangooly was surprized by a detachment from the army under Captain Davies, and Hyder abandoned the siege the moment he heard of our approach. I recollect it was esteemed a very auspicious omen that this event took place on the very anniversary of that day, (namely the 22d of January) on which our general had proved so eminently victorious at the same place one and twenty

twenty years before, over Count Lally and the French army. After throwing succours into this place, the army continued its march, and on the 5th of February, sat down on the Red hills near Pondicherry. It was here that my sufferings, for a length of years, commenced.

I accompanied Lieutenant Doxat, our quarter-master of artillery, to Pondicherry, for the purpose of destroying the French boats, that M. d'Orves, who had a few days before appeared on the coast with a fleet, might not effect the landing of military supplies, and a party of Frenchmen for Hyder's service, and which attempt he had already made, but precipitately relinquished when our army approached. We spiked several iron guns which the French had buried in the sand on the beach, and had just broke up and set fire to all the boats, when the day

dawned and forced us to retire, to avoid the firing from the fleet. Our camp was within two miles of the town, but before we had proceeded half-way thither, a prodigious bustle and hurry of people, running confusedly towards Pondicherry, announced a party of Hyder's horse, which had interposed between the town and our camp. Waggon's overfet, and loads of different articles, proceeding to our bazar, lay scattered and abandoned on the ground. Lieutenant Doxat, who instantly mounted his horse, had barely passed a cross road when a party of them came suddenly upon me. I was instantly seized, and removed to a convenient distance from the high road, and stripped of every thing I possessed. These daring *looties* \* destroyed every thing they met with, but had

\* A banditti of free booters.

no time for removing the plunder, being pursued from our camp. In the mean time they had ventured near enough to our lines to snatch up the serjeant-major of one of the sepoy battalions, who was bathing in the front of the quarter guard, in a tank: the name of this unfortunate man was *Rickman*.

My situation from this instant became truly deplorable; robbed of liberty, I found myself in the clutches of barbarians, who treated me with cruelty and scorn, and kept me in suspense with respect to my life. I was not, however, indulged with much time to contemplate the horrors of my situation; for having bound my arms behind me, they hurried me almost naked before Hyder, on the 6th of February, about two o'clock in the afternoon: he was then encamped on the right flank of our army, at about  
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five or six miles distance, between us and Cuddelore, to the northward of the road. Hyder's tent exhibited nothing very extraordinary and magnificent, except a rich Persian carpet spread on the ground, and held down by four massy silver weights at the corners, something in form resembling sugar loaves. Several French officers were present; I was interrogated through one of them, who spoke English, with respect to the strength and destination of our army; but having replied, that our troops amounted to 35,000 men, 5000 of whom were Europeans, and that we had seventy pieces of ordnance in the field, the interpreter briskly told me, "*I lied*," we had no such thing! and that all our Europeans in India collected together would not amount to that number. Hyder was so much exasperated at my attempt to deceive him, that he kept me three days without

out any food, tied down on the ground in the rear of his tent, which was the station I constantly occupied during the seven days I remained in his camp. In this miserable situation, lying bound on the bare sand when halting, and lashed to Rickman, the serjeant-major, when marching, exposed to the weather, day and night, without any nourishment, I must inevitably have perished, if the humanity of my guards had not relieved me with some food now and then by stealth. On the fourth day, Hyder having encamped near Cuddalore, where the English army was entrenched, I received a visit from Mahomed Beg, a dubash, who spoke English; he ordered me one seer of rice and two pice per day, which I received for four days, after which Mahomed Beg paid me a second visit, and proposed to me to enter into Hyder's service: in order to prevail on me,

me, he promised that I should be well treated, and receive good pay ; but finding me obstinate in refusing, he went away apparently much dissatisfied, and it was not long before I felt the ill effects of my non-compliance, for half my daily allowance in money, together with some provisions I had received from Hyder's kitchen the last four days, were immediately curtailed, and I was lashed to the serjeant-major, and removed to Gingee, a small fort on a rock, which had been surrendered to Hyder in a cowardly manner the preceding December, by a party of the nabob's troops which chiefly composed the garrison, and where part of his army at this time was encamped to guard his women, provisions, stores, and camp equipage. Before I was removed from Hyder's camp, I had the mortification to see our whole army drawn up in order of battle, three days  
suc-



successively. Fortunately some of my own cloaths and a blanket had been restored to me the day before I was desired to enter into Hyder's service. On my arrival at Gingee I was hand-cuffed, and from thence, the succeeding day, removed to Arcot, where my hand-cuffs were exchanged for heavy leg-irons. I remained near three weeks in the prison of Arcot, and might, I am pretty certain, have escaped, had it only once during that period proved a very dark or rainy night; but the moon and stars shone so bright, (a circumstance which I at that time thought a serious misfortune) and it appeared so impracticable to elude our guards and the soldiers of Hyder, who infested the streets and place during these clear nights, that the circumstance of having contrived, by means of perseverance and a piece of broken china, to file down the head

of the nail which rivetted my irons, so as to be able to throw them off at pleasure, availed me nothing. One night's rain, or even one heavy shower, would have driven guards, sentries, and the whole garrison, according to the practice of the Asiatic soldiers, under cover, and consequently left the coast clear—but I was reserved for severer trials.

Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, Lieutenant Frazer, and a Mr. Skardon, were at this time confined in Arcot. The latter of these gentlemen had been the English resident at Pondicherry, and treacherously delivered up by the French inhabitants, who were suffered to reside unmolested on their paroles at the time of committing this act of barbarity. An European soldier, who by some neglect was left behind sick on the day we marched to the Red hills, and snatched up by some  
of

of the looties that constantly hovered about our camp, died in his irons at this place, without receiving the smallest assistance, or any notice being taken of his lamentations. Prior to my remove from hence my irons were taken off, and the hand-cuffs again replaced, probably because heavy fetters might retard the march to Seringapatam, to which place I was next destined. On the 1st of March, 1781, this journey commenced, with the melancholy prospect of never revisiting those companions from whom the chance of war had secluded me.

As soon as I was out of the fort of Arcot I discovered three palanquins, containing British officers in the same predicament with myself, and I soon learnt that they were Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer, who had recovered from their wounds. Mr. Skardon's prison had,  
in-

indeed, been contiguous to mine; we had often conversed over the low wall which divided our cells, and this gentleman had assisted me both with money and cloaths, but he was as ignorant as myself of the situation of the above officers. A Lieutenant Brumpton, delivered up by the French nearly in the same manner as Mr. Skardon, and Mr. M'Neal, the mate of a country ship, had been, were among the prisoners at this time carried to Seringapatam.

We proceeded to Arnee the first day, and the second to a fort at the foot of the hills, or gauts. On this march we were exceedingly hurried, and frequently struck to hasten our steps, the cause of which, as I understood from one of the prisoners, was our near approach, in the course of the day, to the fort of Vellore, from whence almost any party which had sallied might have rescued us, as our convoy only consisted  
of

of about thirty sepoy, and fifty polygars. But they had, unfortunately, no intimation of our proximity at the garison, and it was entirely out of our power to apprize Colonel Lang, the commanding officer of it, by any means or contrivance, nor had we any thing which could corrupt the fidelity of our convoy.

It took us five day to traverse the passes, and four days more to reach Offore; we passed an astonishing number of small mud forts on the road, and got to Seringapatam on the eighteenth of the month. They allowed us to halt one day in the pettah of Bangalore, round the wall of which they were digging a trench at the time, and adding a ditch to the west face of the fort. I cannot tell if it was the same all round, as no other side was visible.

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On our arrival at Seringapatam, Mr. Skardon was sent to the officers prison, but Lieutenant Brumpton and Mr. M'Neal were lodged with us. The former of these two had once escaped from Hyder, and nearly reached Cuddalore before he was retaken; this might probably be his reason for confining him amongst the soldiers, and treating him with more severity than the rest of the officers, at least I never heard of any other. Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer, were confined by themselves. About 300 Europeans, mostly taken near Tacoallum, were all shut up in one prison, consisting of a very spacious square, with a shade or verandah along the wall, not unlike a seray, or what is more commonly termed a caravan-sary. Numbers were, at the time of my arrival, afflicted with epidemical dif-

distempers, but neither care nor assistance were bestowed on them ; a kind of dropfical swelling, in particular, killed many. The small pox, so fatal in the east, especially to grown people who catch it in the natural way, had found entrance into the prison, and swept away almost all the prisoners who had not had the disorder. I ascribe the preservation of my life to a singular contrivance ; having made a small ball of wax as hard as I could, I applied it to my leg, and tied one of my coat buttons so tight over it, that the ball forced a hole through the skin into the leg, in which situation I suffered it to remain for several months, preserving a kind of constant issue.

Shortly after my arrival amongst the prisoners, I was accosted by Serjeant Dempster, who had deserted (as I have mentioned) at the Mount, but was now confined in the common prison.

He questioned me concerning my coming to Seringapatam, but on discovering my aversion to his discourse, and that I had been taken prisoner, he put an end to the conversation by presenting me with some *hoppers*,\* and seemed somewhat ashamed at meeting a person who had belonged to the same corps with himself. After this time, I had little intercourse with him, notwithstanding we continued for several months in the same prison. He was universally detested by the prisoners, being a deserter, and also suspected of sometimes betraying his countrymen to the tyranny of the power which held them in captivity. He protested he had no intention of deserting to Hyder, and that he had only intended to get off to some ship, but was picked up in the attempt. He re-

\* A kind of cake made of rice flour.



ceived good treatment, and some marks of attention at first, but irregularity and misconduct had forced Hyder to degrade him almost immediately; he still received several indulgences, and was well disposed to be useful to the tyrant, though his behaviour was too inconsistent to entitle him to confidence, and defeated any views he might have of raising his fortune in the service of a native power;—he formerly held a commission in his Majesty's service.

I remained nine months in this prison, constantly loaded with irons, and allowed only one seer of rice and a pice per day, during which time, as the wish of delivering ourselves from so intolerable a captivity chiefly occupied our thoughts, Lieutenant Brumpton, Mr. M'Neal, three others, and myself, formed a plan for escaping. We had already prepared rice-cakes as

provisions for the journey, and procured ropes for scaling the wall, when the very evening preceding our proposed departure, a heavy shower of rain fell and washed away that identical part of the prison wall which had been fixed upon for the escalade. A strong guard was in consequence immediately planted on the spot. The rain not only disconcerted our plan, but also it discovered what a perilous task we had engaged in; for when the wall was down, I perceived sufficient unknown obstacles to convince me how little probability there was of having succeeded. The scheme was accordingly laid aside, for a frustrated attempt to escape would only have augmented the rigour of our confinement.

In the month of September, 1781, about six months after my imprisonment, the Nyar, a Bramin, and the commander of our guards, entered the  
prison

prison early in the morning, and selected Serjeant Dempster, with fifteen more of the prisoners, among whom were two young boys, drummers of the 73d regiment; struck off their irons, and without deigning to utter a word, carried them away, for the purpose, as I soon after understood, of circumcising them. They resisted a long while, and bore very cruel treatment before they submitted to this operation, nor did they submit at last, until they were stupified with *majum*,\* which they had been forced to swallow.

This incident spread general terror amongst the rest of the prisoners, every one apprehending that he might be the next victim devoted to Mahometism; nor were our fears groundless, for early in January, 1782, the same persons re-entered our prison, accompanied by

\* A strong opiate.

Serjeant Dempster, and made a second selection of fourteen, in which number I had the misfortune to be included. As Dempster was suspected of a share in this horrid business, at least so far as pointing out the objects on whom the choice ought to fall; every one of us were highly exasperated against him, and it was fortunate for him that he was protected by the guards. The treatment the first victims had undergone, served in some degree to apprise us of the inutility of resistance. With horror and indignation we swallowed the narcotic potion, and those whom the dose had no effect upon, were forcibly seized and pinioned by stout coffres, whilst the operation was performed (having previously shaved us in the customary manner) a ceremony which they continued to observe for three years. After the operation, our right ears were perforated, and small silver

silver rings with round knobs fixed in them, this being a mark of slavery amongst the Mahometans. As soon as we had recovered from this diabolical ceremony, we were transferred to what is termed the tyrant's *Chaylah* battalions (that is, slaves;) these are composed of such of his own subjects as have been condemned to perpetual slavery, and such unfortunate captives as he takes in war. The present consisted chiefly of boys surprized in the Carnatic, whom he accustomed to military exercise, with large sticks, cut in the shape of muskets. The task imposed upon us (those who refused being cruelly flogged) was to instruct these *Chaylahs* in the manual exercise. Our situation consequently became worse than before; we were obliged to perform an office, which, however small the benefit we took care the practitioners should derive from it, could

not

not but cause the deepest affliction, when we reflected they were the detested enemies of our country whom we were compelled to instruct in that very art which would prove destructive to our countrymen.

After we had been made what was termed Muffelmen, we neglected no opportunity of evincing our contempt for the religion of our tormentors, and the cruel force they had employed against us, by catching dogs, and *bandicoots* (a species of large rats) and circumcising them publicly. This operation never failed to exasperate them, particularly as the dog is held a very impure animal, and it cannot be doubted but we very often owed some additional ill usage to these insults on one of their most sacred rites; such behaviour would have been unpardonable, had not the compelling us to undergo an abhorred operation been so

base and barbarous an act of oppression, that it was impossible to reflect on it with temper, and at least justified what might not be absolutely prudent and safe.

In the month of March this year, one of the lately disciplined Chaylah battalions which Hyder had ordered to join a body of troops destined for particular service, encamped at Periapatam, a rock about twenty coss to the south west of Seringapatam, and visible from the fort. This battalion was accompanied by twelve of the circumcised Europeans, acting as officers over slaves, and probably intended by way of experiment; Hyder imagining, I fancy, that a tacit compliance with his service might be exacted from these unfortunate men, although their sentiments and feelings would not allow them openly and avowedly to acquiesce in it. They had been, however, but  
a very

a very short time detached, before four of the Europeans found means to make their escape, by eluding the sentries at night, and immediately entering the *Nyar Jungles*, which lie to the southward of Seringapatam, and from whence, after encountering innumerable dangers and suffering incredible hardships, they arrived safe at Bedanore, commanded by General Matthews, who sent them to Mangalore, from whence, as I afterwards understood, they were removed to Fort St. George, at the time General Matthews was taken; one of these poor fellows was so much weakened and overcome with fatigue and hunger, that when they were near Bedanore, his legs failed him, nor had the others strength enough to assist him; having a good constitution, he lived till a dooly from the garrison came to fetch him into the fort. This escape, however, proved very fatal to the



the remaining eight, for no sooner was the flight of their friends discovered, than they were marked as victims of revenge. They were accordingly brought out in front of that battalion to which a few hours before they had acted as officers, with their hands tied behind, and received three lashes with a bunch of tamarind twigs from each of the *Chaylahs*, which, from the number composing the battalion, amounted to fifteen hundred lashes. Thus were innocent men punished to assuage the cruel resentment of disappointed villains, incensed because four Europeans had eluded their vigilance, and because they discovered that no assistance was to be derived from the English captives, nor any trust to be placed in men who possessed a right to liberate themselves by every opportunity that offered: after suffering this severe flagellation, their hands were secured in a log of wood,  
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with holes in it, something like stocks, and in that situation they were sent to Munclamore, a very high and detached rock, with several forts on it, about thirty cofs from Seringapatam, in the Chittledroog country. Here one of the unfortunate sufferers, a Dutchman by birth, expired of the inhuman flogging without having his hands enlarged before his death. After six months confinement in Munclamore, on one seer of \* *raggy* per day, they were sent back to Seringapatam, and a strict order accompanied them from Hyder, to suffer none of the prisoners on any account whatever, to be trusted with detachments in future, but to guard them closely and confine them to the exercise of the *Chaylahs*, in garrison.

\* A small grain eaten by the natives, not unlike mustard seeds.

## C H A P. II.

*Arrival of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, and of several seamen given up by Suffrein—mortality among the prisoners—death of Colonel Baillie—demise of Hyder Ally—he is succeeded by Tippoo Sultan—murder of General Matthews.*

WHILST the above prisoners suffered for the escape of four of their friends, the whole of the officers and men of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment in the Tanjore country arrived in captivity, and spread a gloom of despondence through the several prisons. Every fresh victory gained by the tyrant naturally shifted the prospect of our deliverance to a greater distance, augmented

mented the number of miserable objects on whom his daily cruelty was wreaked, and rendered him more insensible in proportion as he imagined himself rising in power. This detachment surrendered on the eighteenth of the preceding February, and consisted of about two thousand effective men. In addition to our misery, we learnt from these unfortunate prisoners, that our army remained in a state of inactivity at the mount.

The number of *Chaylaks* that were confined in the fort together, without sufficient room to breathe in, and totally disregarded and surrounded by filth which was never removed, created at last epidemical diseases, which were fatal to great numbers. The unfortunate Europeans had in this case, no better chance than the wretches with whom they were intermixed in one  
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common prison. It was not until the contagion had raged a considerable time with unabated fury, and effected great destruction, that they removed us to another prison on the island, where we had a little more room to move in, and enjoyed a purer air than the infected and putrid vapours which we were before subject to. As a farther help towards preventing infection, greater care was taken to clean the new prison, which consisted of a spacious square, situated between the fort and the new village, to the southward of the former, called Gunjam Pet. The temporary comfort which this salutary change afforded, was of short duration, for scarcely had our drooping spirits recovered from the terror of certain death, which stared us in the face, and our hopes in some degree revived from the diminution of restraint, before

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a fatal and injurious misrepresentation of our conduct plunged us into new troubles. It was related, Heaven knows from what cause, unless every outward appearance of tolerable spirits displeased our persecutors, that indulgence had rendered us lazy, and that we neglected the instruction and exercise of the *Cbaylabs*. It availed nothing that there was no foundation for such a report, no attention was paid to our remonstrances; the killadar sent for us into the fort, ordered the fetters from which we had been exempted, since the initiation into Mahometism, to be replaced, and the guards to drive us back with huge sticks, to our former prison on the island, which being distant near a mile, subjected us to a pretty sound drubbing before we reached it, though we made every expedition. After this, we were obliged to exercise

cise the *Chaylaks* in heavy irons during a whole month.

[ ] Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were brought to prison this year, in the month of July. The fate of these gentlemen was uncommonly hard, and the treatment they met with from the cruel conqueror, strangely barbarous, and wantonly different from the other officers. The particulars relative to their capture, &c. as related in a letter from themselves to their brother officers, are as follows: Having been left wounded at Vellore, in the beginning of the year, they remained in that garison until the month of June, when an escort of one company of sepoy, three three-pounders, and a number of Polygars arrived with supplies for the fort. Stimulated by military ardor, they had determined, being pretty well recovered of their wounds, to

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seize

*Speediman  
Rutledge*

feize this opportunity of rejoining the army, to share in the active service of the campaign; but on the second day's march from Vellore, Tippoo with his army came down upon them. It was not until most of the Company's sepoy were wounded, their ammunition nearly expended, and the Polygars had deserted them, that this small detachment surrendered to Tippoo's whole force, by hoisting a white handkerchief for quarter, which was granted. They received tolerable good usage in Tippoo's camp, but met with quite the reverse from Hyder himself, who detained them five days, then mixed them with a parcel of Carnatic boys, and dispatched them to Seringapatam. On their arrival there, they were considerably surprized not to be confined in the prison with the other officers, but were almost rendered speechless, when



when the horrid design of circumcising them became evident. They were marched to the village of Gunjam Pet, and secured in a large square building, where they found nine Europeans that had already undergone this abominable operation. Parties from the guard came now every hour of the day to them, sometimes with promises, at others with drawn swords, chawbucks, and ropes ready to tie them, and the barber in the rear with shaving implements, to exact their consent to the mutilation. Finding this method ineffectual after trying it for several days, they hoped by separating the two gentlemen to force a compliance. This proving equally inefficacious, the jem-mandar seemed to take compassion on them, and promised to write to Hyder in their behalf; but when they began to imagine the monstrous purpose had been

laid aside, at least till Hyder's answer could be received, they were surpris'd on the 27th of August by a dozen stout fellows with chawbucks and as many coffres with ropes, &c. who seized them without ceremony, tied them, cut off their hair, and then walked away. On the first of September following, the same villains returned again, seized and tied them, and then compelled them to swallow a dose of *majum*, which divested them of sensation whilst they were circumcised.

Some time after the arrival of these gentlemen, seven of those that had already been circumcised, amongst which number I was included, were carried again into the fort to discipline some hundreds of Carnatic boys, lately torn away from their native soil. I had not been many days in the fort before  
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fifty seamen arrived from Bangalore, being a part of those given up to Hyder by Admiral Suffrein at Cuddalore in June. These were all chosen young men, picked out from about three hundred that the Admiral gave up, and destined for Hyder's army. Messrs. Wilfon, Edimon, Austine, Whiteway, Drake, Cardman, and Lesage, midshipmen, were of the number. The youngest and handsomest of these unfortunate men underwent a second selection at Seringapatam, and were lodged in the palace, as part of the tyrant's household, where they received tolerable good treatment, were instructed in the language of the East, and taught different arts and exercises according to the stations they were intended to fill about his person, and whenever their tutor went abroad, they attended him. Some of these, after the peace,

were intended for dancing boys, and sent among the *Notch* people to be instructed in the manœuvres belonging to that art. Mr. Cadman was one of those to whom the latter choice had fallen, but on account of what they thought refractory behaviour, he was returned to the *Chaylabs*, and was of the party who made their escape with me, and has since, as I am very happy to hear, got safe to Madras. Messrs. Wilson, Ediman, Austin, and White-way, lost their lives in the tyrant's dominions some years ago. These unfortunate and basely sacrificed seamen had all been circumcised, and were considered as the unquestionable property of Hyder, which no treaty should induce him to give up, having received them from an ally and friend, whose business it would be to answer for them, should they ever become the subject of  
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an inquiry. It was the opinion of the wretched sufferers that Suffrien had sold them to the tyrant; they all declared that the Admiral had offered them each a hat full of dollars, if they would do duty on board the French fleet, it being reduced to great shifts for want of hands, and they uniformly seemed to think that their firm refusal provoked the admiral to give them up to Hyder; nay, that he had threatened them with doing so in case of non-compliance. Thirty of them were fortunate enough to escape from Arnee immediately after the surrender, without even being missed, and many more, no doubt, would have got off the same way, as they had found means when they were mustered, to deceive by counting twice for those missing in the evening, a trick that could not easily be discovered as long as their faces were

were not perfectly known; but some that were retaken by Hyder's people roused the suspicion of the guards. Two, however, contrived to get away after this, but one of them fillily returned the next day, having missed his road, and brought the account of his companion's death, who was drowned in attempting to pass a river.

I shall not here add any animadversions on the conduct of Admiral Suffrein, in relinquishing these men to a barbarian; the world has formed its unbiaſſed opinion of the matter, which is not to be destroyed by the attempt of transferring the guilt to the government of Madras, as has appeared in a letter from the admiral to Mr. Hastings. It is well known not to be the practice of civilized warfare, either to murder or ſell priſoners when we are incapable of maintaining  
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or securing them, but in such cases to suffer them to depart on their paroles. The registers of modern wars abound with instances of such conduct, which, if neither custom or prudence dictated, the laws of humanity, at least, ought to prescribe.

Three days after the arrival of these Europeans, 800 more Carnatic inhabitants were brought into captivity.

[In the month of November this year, namely 1782, the universally esteemed and beloved Colonel Baillie fell a victim to long illness, and fatigues of mind as well as body, and died in the prison of Seringapatam. I think I saw his funeral, without however knowing, at the time, that it was the colonel's. It was the prevalent report among the prisoners that he fell by poison, but from what I have been able to collect then, as well as since, I have

have no right to believe that his demise was actually brought on by mortal drugs, though the inhuman conqueror certainly was accessary to it, by expressly withholding medical aid from him during his painful disease, notwithstanding repeated applications for that purpose, and treating him, from the commencement of his captivity, with excessive severity. It cannot therefore be doubted, that he rejoiced in the decease of so able and distinguished an officer, and that he, perhaps, secretly hoped his villainous artifice would answer the same purpose as open violence, though nothing but surmises can be offered for the conduct that would have been pursued had this scheme miscarried, particularly as Colonel Braithewaite was suffered to escape. Tippoo's behaviour to General Matthews is by no means a true criterion



terion to judge from, as the whole of that affair is involved in obscure circumstances and facts hitherto very partially developed.

Towards the end of the year the tidings of Hyder's demise reached Seringapatam. This happened but a very few days after the death of the unfortunate Colonel, so that if he died by his order, the barbarian did not himself survive the base murder. The end of this turbulent and ambitious tyrant gave birth to various speculations and expectations, but was attended with none of those commotions commonly produced by the demise of an Eastern monarch. His son Tippoo Saheb, since called Tippoo Sultan, took undisturbed possession of all his father's territories, and the command of vast armies, at a time when many disaffected individuals filled both the camp  
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and city. This must be esteemed no contemptible proof of his abilities as a politician as well as a soldier; such authority, at least, did his known character carry with it, that no open attempts were made to oppose his accession, or divide and circumscribe his power. Tippoo was with his army, at a considerable distance from Hyder when he died, but when the information reached him, he hastened to his father's camp, and made such dispositions and arrangements as he judged prudent and necessary, without relaxing, in any degree, the vigour with which he carried on the war against the English.

The customary mournings were observed at Seringapatam, but the people seemed not to regret the loss of their ruler. His remains were not brought to the capital till three months after his death,

death, and interred in the part of the island which is called the Lollbaug garden. The usual obsequies of eastern monarchs were profusely bestowed on this occasion, and consisted chiefly in charities to the indigent, and magnificent erections to the deceased.

One of Tippoo's first steps towards securing and strengthening his government, was to place a new killadar in Seringapatam. He brought with him a battalion of sepoy's to enforce his authority, and to remove any impediments which he might encounter in possessing himself of his office. The Europeans had every cause imaginable to be afflicted at this change, for the new killadar, Syud Mahomed Khan, turned out the greatest scourge we had yet met with, neglecting no opportunity to satiate the bent of his inclination, which delighted in cruelty. The  
old

old killadar, (by name Siddeboy) who often had shewn us mercy when it depended upon him, and he could do it with safety, (for it is dangerous to be compassionate and possessed of feelings in the service of a tyrant) was shortly after imprisoned in irons, and remained so for a considerable time, probably to render him incapable of being dangerous, as his brother Hyder Sahib had betrayed Bedanore, and gone over to General Matthews, shortly after Hyder's death. This man, though of known fidelity and attachment to Hyder's government, turned traitor (I have been informed) in his own defence, the instant his former master expired, and took refuge with the English to provide for his own safety, dreading the resentment of the new ruler, who had threatened, and who, he was well assured, would have sacrificed him to his anger,

anger, being exasperated on account of a chastisement which, by order of Hyder, he had given Tippoo when a young boy, and for which his unforgiving temper basely meditated vengeance on the innocent executor of the order of a father.

The hopes which had been indulged when the death of Hyder became public, founded on the expectation of a favourable change in our affairs, through the mildness of Tippoo's temper, who had hitherto borne a character for humanity, and on the probability of his being unable to prosecute the war after an event productive in general of great revolutions in this country, quickly vanished; and it was soon discovered, that if Tippoo did not surpass, he at least equalled his father in aversion and hatred to the Europeans; that his character had not

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hitherto appeared in a true light, but that now, when he found it no longer necessary to dissemble or conciliate the affections of his father's subjects, he threw aside the mask, and shewed himself in his genuine colours; it was also found that he could, and actually did, carry on the war with unabated vigour.

In the month of February, 1783, Lieutenant Frazer, (Colonel Baillie's brigade major) and Captain Rumley, who had both been confined with the Colonel, but had not any suspicions of his being poisoned, as is evident from a letter which they wrote to the other officers, and a Lieutenant Sampson, of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, were sent in a very mysterious manner to Myfore.

I also learnt, about this time, that Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were

were under very severe confinement and in heavy irons at Gunjum Pet, in consequence of an attempt to escape: their scheme was to have made a hole in the prison wall, being confined in a separate apartment whilst under cure for circumcision. Nothing but despair, however, could have inspired the resolution, there not being the smallest probability of getting away had they even succeeded in breaking the wall, which never was effected, as a black servant belonging to Lieutenant Rutledge betrayed them. They were consequently detected in the fact, and secured as above-mentioned, without any other subsistence than what their fellow prisoners afforded them. When they had been two months tortured in this disgraceful manner, they were ordered to drill the *Chaylahs*.

The deplorable loss of Nagram, or Bedanore, was one of the heavy dis-

afers which signalized the beginning of this year. Early in the month of May the whole of Tippoo's capital rung with shouts and rejoicings in consequence of this re-capture; sugar and sweetmeats were carried about the town in baskets, and distributed to the inhabitants under the discharge of cannon. I do not recollect the spirits of the prisoners to be so much depressed at any one time during the whole of my captivity as on this mournful occasion. The loss of Bedanore had vexed Tippoo exceedingly, nor was he chagrined without very good cause, as his capital had been exposed during the absence of his armies from the rapid progress of General Matthews, who assuredly would have penetrated to the very gates of Seringapatam, had he been informed of the true state of affairs; where not only the European prisoners, but the  
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captive natives, and as afterwards appeared, a formidable conspiracy, would have been ready to forward his enterprise, and no force to oppose him. By the capture of General Matthews and his army in a most inglorious manner, the tyrant was delivered from every future apprehension, and enabled to exact more imperious terms should a peace be proposed. In short, the disastrous consequences of this loss, to a part of which we had the mortification of being eye-witnesses, presented themselves in such disheartening colours, and dejected us so much, that a long time elapsed before we recovered any tolerable degree of composure. To add acuteness to our distress, we were desired, or rather compelled, to partake of the sweetmeats prepared for the rejoicings, and our positive refusal was construed into

a stubborness which deserved correction; accordingly our evil genius, the base and dark-minded killadar, determined to make us feel the effects of his displeasure. He ordered us in future into the ranks with the *Chaylaks*, (hitherto having only superintended them) prohibited every species of intercourse and communication with each other, even that of conversing together in public, and consigned us to the charge of sentries, who confined us in a square building the whole day without any food. Terrified at this extraordinary, unprovoked, and sudden change of treatment, and very sensible that passive submission only would serve to render our enemies more oppressive and inexorable, we resolved towards the evening to be informed of our destiny. Having forced the sentries placed over us, we proceeded in a body to the  
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killadar's quarters, and remonstrated in the most submissive terms against the cruelty of starving and tormenting us without any real cause. He took not the smallest notice, however, of our complaint, but ordered a party of sepoy's to surround us, and tie us with ropes ; after which he ordered us, one by one, to be scourged in his presence, until his savage disposition was glutted with the groans extorted from us. Ensign Clark, who had stood our speaker on this occasion, being well versed in the Hindostany, or Moor language, was first on the list, and most inhumanly flogged, a few only escaped by the unmerciful barbarian's growing tired of the sport. We were kept the whole of this night and the succeeding day, in the open air, bound and exposed to the burning sun. On the second evening some victuals were distributed

amongst us, when we were dispersed in different places amongst the slaves, and treated with uncommon rigour for a long time afterwards.

A singular species of cruelty, that had no other object in view than wanton malice, and the barbarous delight our villains constantly took in tormenting and insulting the English prisoners, occurred about this time. Four European women, with their husbands, belonging to the Bedanore garrison, were brought to Seringapatam, where they were torn from the men, whom the villains sent to Chittledroog, and afterwards allotted the women to four of the black slaves. Two became the property of the natives of Myfore, and the other two became the property of a couple of abominable Abyssinians, with whom they were compelled to live. I saw these women myself,

myself, they were good-looking females, but pity was all the assistance I was able to afford them. It would, indeed, make too large a register of horrors, to enumerate every particular instance in which these unfeeling men treated us with inhumanity.

A conspiracy against the usurper was discovered in the month of August this year, and must have alarmed him considerably, as it evidently testified the dispositions of some, if not of all his subjects. The project was planned, I understood, with much precaution and judgement, and it was intended that the European prisoners should be admitted to a share in the enterprize, which had nothing less in view than to restore the reins of government to the ancient race of Mysore, and emancipate the present king from the shackles of the regency. One of the conspirators betrayed the plot, on the very eve  
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of its execution, by which he saved himself, and brought his associates to the most excruciating tortures, and the most dreadful ends, such as being dragged to death at the heels of elephants, &c. It is to be regretted that this scheme miscarried, as much effusion of blood, and many lamentable catastrophes, as well at that time as in the present war, would by this means have been averted, and our southern possessions been delivered from an inveterate and faithless neighbour. It was a matter of much astonishment, that the prisoners all escaped suspicion on this occasion, though it must certainly have been their presence which encouraged the project, nor is it to be credited, that none of them were in the secret.

The peace which actually took place, began to be rumoured towards the end of this year, but we had heard such frequent and various reports of this nature,

ture, all of which had proved to be groundless conjecture or simple inventions, that the comforts which these reports had yielded at first, had worn away, and we listened to the news of peace with the same distrust that we used to attend to the violated promises which from time to time were made to us by our tormentors.

The month of September this year 1793, was distinguished by the inhuman murder of General Matthews, who was certainly poisoned in a very barbarous manner, being starved until he had consented to eat of the food which he had discovered contained poison. He refused for several days to taste nourishment, but hunger surmounted at last the desire of protracting a miserable existence, and he swallowed a plentiful portion of the victuals prepared for him, and in a few hours after expired in violent convulsions. I am the  
better

better enabled to assert this fact, having since conversed with the General's two European servants, who, after being kept long in suspense, were suffered to live, and confirmed the fact. Much was said amongst the prisoners, and much, no doubt, has gone abroad into the world concerning the whole of Tippoo's behaviour to the unfortunate General, which commenced with a base breach of faith, and closed with a barbarous murder. His base and cruel conduct has, no doubt, been exposed in all the colours which can render guilt odious, but I do not find that it has ever been impartially suggested by our countrymen, how much it was surmised that Tippoo, barbarian and tyrant as he is, nevertheless did not make himself guilty in the *first* violation of the Bedanore capitulation.

CHAP.



## C H A P. III.

*Removal of the prisoners from Seringapatam to Mysore—various expeditions of Tippoo against the tributaries of the Nizam—cruel treatment of the prisoners—marriage of Tippoo's eldest son—his intolerance to his Hindoo subjects—his attack upon the Rajah of Travancore—rupture between him and the English—approach of General Meadows—action with Colonel Floyd—the prisoners conducted to the hill forts.*

IN the month of December following, all the circumcised Europeans in Seringapatam were removed to Mysore,

fore, the ancient capital of the kingdom, but at that time an insignificant little fort about seven miles to the southward of Seringapatam, which Tippoo has since demolished, and erected a new and stronger one a little to the eastward of the former, called Sultan Killah. On our arrival here, we were closely confined, and in the very room where Captain Rumley and Lieutenants Frazer and Sampson, whose deaths had already been whispered about the city, were murdered, shortly before, by the order of Tippoo.

When we discovered ourselves to be not only in the same danger, but guarded by the very same assassins who had imbrued their hands in the blood of these gentlemen, we could no longer suppress our terrors. It now recurred to us what had often been asserted, that

Tippoo

Tippoo never would suffer any British captives to return, being determined to put all such to death who should survive his cruel treatment. The murder of General Matthews's officers, which had been circulated at Seringapatam, and was credited by us all, contributed to confirm this suspicion. In short, it appeared evident that our extirpation was resolved upon, on which account we unanimously determined to annihilate as many of Tippoo's hired assassins as we could, until superior numbers should crush us. At this time, however, our alarms proved groundless, and Tippoo's real view in sending us hither, seemed to be nothing more than to keep us out of the way whilst peace was in agitation, that we might have no opportunity of making our situations known, and consequently be included in the number

ber of those who at last escaped his clutches. It is impossible, however, to determine what would have been our fate, had our release been insisted on with sufficient earnestness to provoke his anger.

The commander of our guard had a slave, from whom we learnt the following particulars concerning the detestable murder of the above-mentioned gentlemen. Captain Rumley, when he found that he would be constrained to swallow poison, put an end to his own existence rather than submit; and Lieutenant Sampson, having snatched up a large piece of wood that chanced to be within his reach, laid so furiously and resolutely about him, that the cowardly murderers, afraid of approaching, threw a stone at him from some distance, which met his head with a mortal blow. Lieutenant Frazer  
alone

alone was secured, and had poison forced down his throat, of which he soon after died.

After four months confinement at Mysore we were marched back to Seringapatam. Tippoo had then returned to his capital, and peace with the English was concluded. Our numbers at this time amounted to eighty, being the survivors of such as from time to time had been dragged out of the Seringapatam prisons, and circumcised. The seamen, except those selected for the palace, are included in this list. I have since learnt, that every prison throughout the tyrant's dominions had in like manner been drained of the ill-fated Englishmen that were detained in captivity.

It is difficult for those who never experienced similar calamities to form any adequate or just conception of our

despondence, in finding ourselves, when peace was restored, for ever secluded from our country and friends. The hopes of one day rejoining those to whom we might relate our adversities in safety, and enjoy the pleasing reflections of having surmounted sufferings incurred in the cause and service of our country, had hitherto supported us against every misfortune. A general restoration of prisoners had been the basis of the peace, but our rulers found themselves reduced to connive at the most flagrant infringement of this article.

We were now posted to the different *Chaylab* battalions in the capacity of havildars, and received seven rupees per month. Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were appointed subadars. Lieutenant Brunton, who came up to Seringapatam at the same time with my-

myself, and Ensign Gordon, a gentleman who had been a long time confined at Chittledroog, were liberated.

When I was moved to Mysore, two Europeans, one named O'Bryan, from the same company of Bengal artillery to which I had belonged, the other a serjeant of the Madras establishment, taken in the Pollams, where Colonel Owen commanded, were compelled to perform the office of common coolies, and to carry dirt in the streets of Seringapatam, because they had attempted to escape shortly after they were captured, and at that time killed or wounded one or two of the guards that surprised them. On my return these two men existed no more; they had been assassinated by the sultan's order, together with a native girl and two children belonging to the serjeant.]

Our confinement was still continued with its former rigour and circum-

spection; we were scarcely allowed, at first, to look out of our prison, and for near three years succeeding the peace our slavery suffered little or no relaxation. We were not, in general, allowed to stir, even on the most pressing occasions, without a sentry to accompany us; nor should we at any time during that period have been permitted to walk about freely, if the officers who were entrusted with the charge of us, and responsible for our appearance, had not at times indulged us with some liberty, trusting, I suppose, to the impossibility of our getting away.

Our first excursion, after being re-posted in the manner already mentioned to the *Chaylah* battalions, was to a small fort called Chindrapattah, on the Bedanore road, about twenty miles westward of Seringapatam, where we remained inactive during six months, and



and were then remanded to Seringapatam. During our stay at Chindrapatah, Ensign Clark, who held no higher station than one of us, expired in consequence of a violent beating from one of the subadars, whose cruelty he had provoked by some retorting language. Mr. Clark's body turned entirely black before he died, but no inquiry was instituted in consequence, our lives not being of sufficient importance to cause an investigation. Mr. Ediman, the midshipman, likewise quitted his miserable existence at this place, of a natural death indeed, but very prematurely brought on.

When we returned to Seringapatam, we were transferred from the *Chaylahs* to the Malabar Roman Catholic Christians, consisting originally of about 40,000 unfortunate wretches, men, women, and children, forced away from the Bedanore and Mangalore countries.

in 1784, and compelled to embrace Mahometism, not, however, without exhibiting several martyrs in support of a doctrine with which they had no farther acquaintance than what consisted in counting a row of beads, and performing genuflexions before a crucified image. The corps, or battalion of these wretches, to which I had been posted, was soon afterwards sent to Myfore, where it remained five months, and then returned. These marches had nothing in view but to keep the unfortunate enslaved soldiers (a name which they, however, did not deserve) in employ, and to break any combinations which might have been formed.

[ The English peace concluded in 1784, no sooner left Tippoo at liberty, than his turbulent spirit presented as a convenient object for his rapacious ambition, the territories of Mouberrjung, lying about twenty days journey to the north-

northward of Seringapatam, and tributary to the nizam. Tippoo accordingly marched (the desire of conquest being a sufficient reason with him for making war) with an army, computed to be one hundred thousand strong, against Mouberrjung's capital, called after the country Hydona, to which he laid siege after having subjected the frontiers, through which he spread terror and devastation. The nizam sent a body of cavalry to the assistance of Mouberrjung, which induced Tippoo to abandon the siege; but he had already, it seems, impressed the latter with fears too lively to be erased. The coast was therefore no sooner clear, before Mouberrjung decamped to Hyderabad with his family and jewels, which had already so narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the invader, leaving him to take undisturbed possession of the fort of Hydona, which he totally

demolished, the pettah having been plundered and nearly consumed by fire in an assault prior to the arrival of the auxiliary troops. I collected this information from the Europeans whom Tippoo had carried along with him, four of the Malabar Christian battalions having been employed on this occasion, to which thirty of the captive Europeans were attached.]

As it was difficult, in an enemy's country, to guard men who had both courage and cunning sufficient to attempt a flight, five of the employed Europeans found means to elude all the circumspection and vigilance of their observers, and fled to Mouberrjung. One of General Matthews's servants was amongst these deserters. The sultan determined immediately to send the remainder back loaded with chains, and under a very strict confinement, and pursuant to his constant practice of  
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wreaking his vengeance on the whole of us, these men no sooner arrived at Seringapatam than we shared their fate. Amongst many other severe punishments which we underwent on this occasion, without having been admitted to a chance of sharing in the transgression of those for whom we suffered, was that of reducing our late allowance to barely one seer of very bad rice daily, great part of which we were obliged to dispose of solely to procure fire-wood and salt for the rest.

Under the alarming apprehensions which this circumstance created, and when we expected nothing less than to be either massacred on the spot, or distributed among those hill forts from which no unfortunate exile was ever known to return, our terror received additional force from the escape of two of our companions, who found means to pass the sentries in the night,  
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and escaped, notwithstanding the vigilance of their guards. The greatest difficulty, it must be observed, consisted in getting out of prison, for the inhabitants of Seringapatam had for many years been so familiarized to the sight of Europeans in the streets, that little obstruction was to be apprehended from the people, many of them being our well-wishers. Our confinement became after this infinitely more strict, and almost insupportably oppressive. The very guards dreaded the charge of us, being punished severely for every one that escaped, and were consequently instigated by fear as much as inclination to treat us harshly. In ten days, however, one of the fugitives being brought back to Seringapatam, our situations were made less irksome. Both had been retaken near Tellicherry, but one had availed himself of the opportunity, when he was drinking  
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water out of the river, to knock down the centinel that accompanied him, and then plunged into it and swam away. The unfortunate fellow that was brought back paid for the natural privilege of having made use of his legs with his nose and ears, after which he was led round the fort on a jack-ass with his face to the tail, and condemned to labour among the native smiths, who obliged him to blow the bellows for them. No account was ever received of the other. Two of those Europeans whom Tippoo employed as armourers also attempted to escape at this time by swimming over the Coleroon; but it happened unfortunately that a guard was placed on the very spot where they gained the land, by which their design was discovered. One of these men had formerly been a midshipman, and died at Seringapatam in August 1790.

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In this dreadful state of suspense we remained during five months, when Tippoo returned from the invasion of Hydona. He had possessed himself on that expedition, besides plunder, of a country extending about fifty or sixty coss beyond Copaul, and almost as far as the Kistna, having, independent of the greatest part of Hydona, taken Durbar and other places from the Mahrattas, all of which he held in subjection until the present war broke out. It was said, that Tippoo alledged the Nizam's refusal of his daughter, and Mouberrjung of his sister, for his son, as a pretext for the war. The proposal had been rejected with contempt, the young Mysorean being of too mean an origin to aspire at mixing his blood with that which flowed in veins of such high descent.

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Soon after the tyrant's return we were divided into three parties and dispersed; one was sent to Bedanore, another to Chittledroog, which lies to the northward of Seringapatam, not far from Copaul, and the third, to which I belonged, remained in the city. Those that went away were in irons; we that were reserved were at first posted to a battalion of *Coorikies*, a people lying in the woods, whom Tippoo had enslaved; but in consequence of the frequent complaints and unfavourable representations which our black officers made of our conduct, we were subdivided anew into four parties, one of which remained with the *Coorikies*, another was posted to a battalion of *Moplas*, and the other two incorporated with the Malabar Christians. It was thought, not without some reason, that the fewer of us were together the more tractable we should be. As we had

often experienced the vanity of expecting any other redress for the ill usage and injuries of our commanders; than what we could procure for ourselves, so, whenever twelve or fifteen of us were together, and they grew too intolerable, we used to beat the whole battalion, guards and all, out of the square, and make terms before we ceased hostilities. I have frequently known these effects of mere despair take place, and the officers, ashamed of their own pusillanimity, would not make these little mutinies known, but they took care, in general, to be even with us, and charged us with some other offence, of which we had never perhaps thought.

Our allowance, which since the peace had been seven rupees per month, unless when in disgrace, was at this time reduced to six rupees in forty-five days, which is the term of Tippoo's military

tary month, according to which he pays his troops: this paltry stipend was, however, irregularly paid, and never at a shorter period than fifty days, frequently a longer period, which was a small addition to the month, of the paymaster's contrivance, as it reduced us to extreme distress at times, and the necessity of borrowing the money from him which was actually due to us: this scheme was so much to his liking, that he frequently kept us in long arrears on pretence of being without money, in order to oblige us to have recourse to his aid, which he afforded in consideration of a deduction of one-half in advancing what it was his duty to have paid long before. [I shall here mention a species of unkingly chicanery, by which Tippoo himself manages to cheat his troops out of great part of their pay. He keeps them three or four months ~~in~~ arrears, or  
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until they begin to be very much distressed for money ; and then allows his treasurer, or some other person, with his money, to make them advances at a very exorbitant discount till the pay is issued, which generally takes place soon afterwards, and the profits of this political robbery accrues to himself. When we now reflect that they are bound always to receive one-fourth of their pay in grain, which generally consists of what has been damaged as stores, and which the sepoy is obliged to throw away, and that the treasurer, or pay-jobber, probably expects or exacts something for himself over and above what goes into the sultan's coffers, we may naturally conclude, that the army is neither well paid, nor well satisfied, and that nothing but fear, want of unanimity and bold leaders, not to omit the unquestionable vigilance and abilities of the tyrant, pre-

prevents them from revolting. I am confident, from what I have seen, that he will some time or other feel the ill effects of their discontent.

In consequence of what has been said, we found ourselves so much distressed at one time for the most indispensable necessities of life, that our party ventured on a step, for the sake of procuring temporary relief, which exposed the whole to the imminent danger of a most ignominious death. It was suggested to some one of the ingenious and bold prisoners, at the time of the Moherrum, to steal out of prison in the night, and when riot and intoxication had lulled the pious Musulmen to rest, to rob the temples of the little silver hands which are offered during the festival by the munificent bigots, and then to re-enter the prison in the same clandestine manner. We were all privy to this daring enterprize,

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and were all to share equal in the benefit of its success; great precaution was therefore taken to avoid discovery, and to assist the resolute undertaker in effecting his purpose unobserved. I confess that I was not less rejoiced than astonished at his good fortune when I saw him return before day, not only undiscovered, but furnished with a dozen of the silver relicks which he had safely purloined. We melted down the silver with all imaginable secrecy, and sold it some time afterwards, which afforded a very seasonable relief. We had, however, never afterwards, even when less vigilantly watched, an opportunity of repeating this theft, the success of which I never sufficiently could admire, as mere despair had inspired the attempt.

In the year 1788, six of Tippoo's chiefs and a bramin were hanged at Seringapatam for being suspected of carrying

trying on a treacherous correspondence with the English. A letter to Lieutenant Rutledge had been found on the bramin, and interpreted by Serjeant Dempster, who has since informed me that it <sup>was</sup> simply a letter from the gentleman's mother, or some other relation, which the bramin, who came from the Carnatic, had engaged to deliver, but that it was accompanied by a short note from one of Lieutenant Rutledge's friends, lamenting that he was no longer able, from want of opportunities, to write to him as formerly. This note produced all the mischief, for it betrayed a prior correspondence, which was sufficient to rouse distrust and suspicion in the jealous mind of Tippoo. [Lieutenant Rutledge was, in consequence of this discovery, loaded with fetters, and sent to Nundidroog, a high and scarped rock, where he was confined on the very summit under a little

*chopper* or shed, raised for the purpose, and only allowed about the space of ten yards to move in, with three quarters of a peck of *raggy* and a few chillies to subsist on. In this dreadful situation he spun out a miserable existence nearly two years, when he was shot on the rock, for contriving to transmit a written request to borrow four fanams of the prisoners at Seringapatam. This unfortunate gentleman has left a son behind him in Tippoo's dominions. I learnt the particulars of Lieutenant Rutledge's death from a farrier who had been confined on the same rock, but removed to Seringapatam in consequence of the indisposition of one of Tippoo's favourite Arabian horses, and is the only person, I have been informed, that was ever known to return from any of these forts. He declared, that he had been hoisted up to the top blind-folded, that there is  
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but one narrow path down, which he perceived completely lined with sentries, and that a fort guarded the ascent some distance below the summit. No person, he added, except their guards, could, or were allowed to approach the prisoners. We were, as usual, all of us involved in Lieutenant Rutledge's disaster on the discovery of the letter, and punished with close confinement and the loss of our allowance for two months, during which time we lived on charity, and learnt to subsist several days without food.

An European, named White, having escaped from Bangalore the first year after the peace, for the second time, seven other European prisoners, also confined at that place, were, on account of this circumstance, put in irons and sent to Sunderdroog, a fort to the north-east of Seringapatam, and about twenty miles to the westward of Bangalore.

These unfortunate men continued under a very severe arrest on one *seer* of *raggy* and half a pice per day for themselves and families, (women and children that were taken with them) until the year 1789, when, after suffering during four years all the rigour of slavery, fetters, and hunger, they were finally dragged into the woods and hanged. Their women were afterwards brought to Seringapatam, and related the deplorable catastrophe of their masters—Nothing could be more shocking, more inhuman, and more base, than to preserve a tormenting existence to innocent men several years, for the sole purpose of murdering them at last.

I was never able to discover when or in what manner the above-mentioned White got into Tippoo's service, but he was there when the war began, and tho' a Briton, he strained every nerve to injure and distress the English captives.

Through his treachery it was discovered, that the captive officers had contrived to carry on some contraband transactions, which subjected them to examinations and restraints they never could account for, and might have endangered their existence, had any discoveries been made, as the tyrant wanted very little pretext for murdering men who were obnoxious to him. He originally persuaded Tippoo to retain such of the prisoners as were mechanics, and pointed out those whom he judged fit objects for this purpose. Many, therefore, are indebted to him and his diabolical exertions for the perpetual loss of liberty, and finally of their lives. Tippoo was latterly much prejudiced against this man, and would certainly, in some degree, have bestowed on him the fate he deserved, by hanging him, had he not saved himself by flight, for he had played his patron

several provoking tricks, particularly pretending skill in casting cannon; for when Tippoo had expended a great deal of money on a foundry and the necessary requisites, he manifested his ignorance in spoiling all the metal: I am happy to find this miscreant is now a prisoner at Madras. The vexations resulting from White's stupidity were amply compensated, however, shortly after, by the arrival of thirty artists from France, sent out by the court of Versailles with a view to instruct Tippoo's subjects in manufactures, and aiding this Asiatic ally of France with mechanical knowledge, which as yet has made slow progress in his own dominions, as well as every other part of India. They were, no doubt, an earnest of the stipulated support and assistance in the projected war with us, of which he has since been so justly disappointed. Two men of each profession,

feſſion, or trade, were ſent out, and conſiſted chiefly of ſuch as were not to be found amongſt his own ſubjects, namely, founders, glaſs-blowers, watch-makers, armourers, broad-cloth weavers, &c. amongſt the reſt five ſugar bakers, a doctor, and a ſurgeon—I believe theſe people arrived with the ambaffadors.

In the beginning of 1789, fix men, whom we had not heard of before, were brought from Chittledroog to Seringapatam; this ſufficiently evinces, that many more Europeans than what are ſuſpected are concealed in Tippoo's dominions. Theſe men were, ſoon after their arrival, carried out of the fort in irons into a wood near the iſland, where they were hanged. They had belonged to the Bedanore garrifon which capitulated: what induced the barbarous conqueror to murder theſe men in cold blood I never was able to diſcover.

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Soon after Tippoo again collected his forces, amounting, if report may be credited, to above 100,000; it is difficult, however, to ascertain the real number of an Indian army, which is always magnified very much beyond its reality; it would seem that a lack, or 100,000, when applied to an army, has a very unlimited meaning, and signifies nothing more than a pretty large body; for having so frequently known the term applied to less than half the number, and scarcely ever heard of an Indian army of any note which was not exaggerated, I conclude it to be no more than a figure by which the relator means to convey his alarms: it must, notwithstanding, be confessed, that a great body of troops were collected, and that eight battalions of *Chaylaks* accompanied them. Tippoo marched down the Gauts as soon as the army was

was equipped, without divulging his intentions.

We heard nothing of this new expedition, or Tippoo's movements, for a considerable time; when, at last, orders were received at the capital to prepare for the nuptials of his son, a stout boy about seventeen years of age, who was now to espouse the daughter of the Queen of Cannanore, since the Nizam had disdainfully rejected him for a son-in-law; orders were also received at the same time to arrange matters preparatory to the father's inauguration, as "*Sultaun of the East*," the title which he in future intended to assume, and in which quality he meditated nothing less than the subjection of all India. He likewise issued a proclamation, prohibiting all marriages in the kingdom of Myfore until such time as the wedding of his son should take place, being determined to celebrate

brate that day by the consummation of 25,000 marriages at his own charge. To be ignorant of every other feature in the character of this extraordinary man, and to be informed of this circumstance alone, would certainly inspire a high opinion of his munificence, liberality, and philanthropy, but the moment we are told that he tarnished all the glory which accompanied such a splendid act, by a piece of contemptible, fanatical, and tyrannical despotism, compelling 100,000 of his defenceless Hindoo subjects to embrace Mahometism on the same day, our admiration changes into merited detestation.

It is his constant and favourite practice to insult and persecute the Hindoos on the score of religion: he has demolished many of their temples and sanctified places of worship, particularly a much-revered pagoda near the bazar of Seringapatam, where he found,



it is asserted, 150,000 coined pagodas, buried under the stone out of which the oval was hewn. He frequently orders calves to be brought before the doors of their temples, and sheds the sacred blood under the very nose of the offended deity. Such as are acquainted with the enthusiastic attachment of the Hindoos to their ancient religion and its rites, and their veneration for both, will guess at the extreme horror with which such frightful sacrileges must fill them, and will easily be persuaded that Tippoo, as I have once observed, is detested by the majority of his subjects, and will only ascribe their patience and submission to the known indolence and abject tameness of the Indians, who are awed by the vast armies he has hitherto contrived to maintain, and the known severity with which he ever punishes the bare appearance of defection.

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His orders for the solemnization of the marriage created a general bustle and tumult throughout the city ; every individual that could perform any thing curious or clever was employed, not only on their new sultan's account, but all such as proposed displaying their adulation, and court their sovereign by magnificent presents on the occasion, and such also as hoped, by a disguised bribe, to insinuate themselves into favour, and pave the road to future preferment. The palace of old Hyder was demolished, and in the rear of it was begun a more extensive and magnificent one of a triangular form, and fronting a famous pagoda in the center of the fort : in this the proud Mysorean proposed to be inaugurated. Having been presented by the court of France with four large and curious crystal pedestals, these were to support  
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his throne. This royal seat was to be superbly decorated, and built by Europeans ; but neither the palace nor the throne were finished when I left Serinagapatam. The present war seems to have retarded these designs, and the intelligence of Tippoo's repulse at the Travancore lines put a total stop to the immense preparations which for a time had engrossed the whole attention of the capital ; the wall that surrounded the area of the new palace was alone suffered to be finished ; it is one mile in circumference, with a large gate on each side, the principal and grandest of which faces the above-mentioned pagoda. It is very uncertain when the splendid edifice itself will be finished, as all farther thoughts about it are suspended, and will not be resumed until the present war is terminated, on the issue of which Tippoo's future glory and fate seem to hang.

hang. So sensible and convinced was he of the decisive consequences of a war rashly undertaken with respect to himself and his ambitious projects, that he no sooner discovered the expected and stipulated aids from France would fail, and the exertions of his enemies so much exceed what he had believed, than he seriously repented his wanton breach of treaty, not from principles of good faith or justice, but from apprehension of its effects to his own interest : it is to be hoped, that he will never again remain in a state to disturb the tranquility of India.

The loss of his great seal, turban, and palanquin, captured in the before-mentioned repulse, together with several valuable jewels, and the narrow escape of his own person, had a very disheartening tendency upon his creatures in the capital, and gave rise to very ignominious interpretations from  
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the discontented. It was allowed that he would certainly have fallen into his enemies hands if a mean disguise had not protected him; the very bearers of his palanquin were cut down some moments after he had deserted it; he was attempting to surprize a defended ditch at some distance from the Travancore lines, when this unexpected fall was made, and had nearly put a period to his career.

Tippoo having thought proper to substitute another inscription on his new signet, this circumstance gave fresh alarms at Seringapatam, and many took it for granted the tyrant had been either killed or dethroned, and the supreme authority assumed by some other person; but the general anxiety dissipated when a new state palanquin was dispatched with great pomp, to be the sumptuous and future vehicle of an upstart sultan.

When he had carried the long-disputed point against Travancore, which took up about twice the time he had conjectured, he returned to his capital, and was received with all the splendour of a conqueror; triumphal arches filled the streets through which he passed, and the decorations which had been originally destined to grace the nuptials of his son, were displayed on this occasion. On his arrival he proceeded directly to his father's tomb, where he spent the whole day in solemn prayers. He entered the fort at night through a road brilliantly illuminated.

On his return from this expedition, he brought a number of different sorts of guns, and a large quantity of sheet copper, of which he had stripped the domes of the Roman Catholic churches on the Malabar coast; with likewise 3000 of the captured Travancorians and the families of about 300 of the  
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Cochin people, whom he had been cruel enough to seize, and after tying them in pairs, drove them into the sea.

Tippoo now thought very seriously about new-modelling and mustering his troops : that he placed no remarkable confidence in their loyalty and faith was evident from the precautions he took to prevent mutiny and revolt. He artfully put such men together as were most likely never to join in any general disaffection from mutual aversion and distrust of each other ; by which means all his corps were composed of different casts, nations, and religions, that bore a natural antipathy, and sometimes an avowed enmity, to each other : this might indeed, in some measure, remedy one evil, but sowed the seeds of another, that of disunion in their efforts, when it might be highly necessary that their joint exertions should combine in

the accomplishment of the same object. He augmented his *Chaylah* battalions from eight to thirty, observing the same mode with respect to embodying them, as with the regulars, which indeed may appear more reasonable to such as have no knowledge of the disposition of his standing army, a circumstance which Tippoo is perfectly well acquainted with.

The artillery did not escape his notice; his arsenal was well supplied with warlike stores, and every preparation in his power was made for a war; the English prisoners were ordered into the fort again, and their capturer, at one of the reviews, observing amongst the *Chaylahs* some prisoners that were shaven, he remarked to one of his courtiers: "These men, I see, have discovered a new Bible and creed at last," meaning the Koran and Mahomedan doctrine. When he had inspected



spected every thing in person, carried reform into every department, and provided against deficiencies and abuses, he at last issued orders for a second campaign, and took the field.

It was originally said that he meant to go to the northward, and lead his army against the troops of Mouberjung and Captain Read's detachment, which had not been then joined by Perfuram Bhow, but the intelligence of General Meadows's approach to the Gauts, and the capture of Coimbatore, an event totally unexpected, produced a change in his determination. He immediately crossed the Cavery, and fixed his camp to the southward of Seringapatam. It was not, however, until they received the intelligence from an European taken prisoner at Caroor, where he had been straggling whilst intoxicated, and brought to Seringapatam, that the European prisoners heard for certain of

war having actually broke out betwixt Tippoo and the English.

Before he took the field a second time, he ordered three Europeans, and a number of native prisoners, who had been in his father's and his own possession a considerable time, among whom were several native officers, a Nayar rajah, and a commandant on the Bombay establishment taken in Bedanore, to be sent to Nundydroog and other hill forts, where I conjecture they have since been murdered, as that is the usual fate of all those who are doomed to these places. The farrier already mentioned, whose life had been spared in compliment to one of Tippoo's horses, was of the number. He also sent back from his camp an European corps in which he placed no confidence, being commanded by one *Maclean*, who had been a serjeant in his

his Majesty's service, but deserted from the garrison of Mangalore when it was under the command of Major Campbell.

This corps consisted of nothing but vagabonds and deserters, chiefly Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danes. It had been disarmed and disgraced during Tippoo's first absence, being suspected, and very justly, I believe, of having encouraged and promised aid to the different *Chaylah* corps, who intended to rebel during the absence of the army, and emancipate themselves; the accomplishment of which plan nothing could have prevented, had they not deliberated till it got vent, and were deprived of their arms and secured, as well as all who were suspected of abetting and forwarding their project. Tippoo, it is true, had re-armed Maclean's

corps, but so humble was his opinion of their loyalty and bravery, that he judged it very unadvisable to oppose them to the troops of an European power, so that they still remained inactive at Seringapatam when I left it.

Tippoo is naturally of a suspicious temper, which the knowledge of his being unpopular increases. The Europeans are peculiarly, and without exception, the objects as well of his detestation as distrust, so much so, that I may safely assert, there is not at this moment a single regiment in his service commanded by an European officer, nor did he ever suffer Lally's army to multiply sufficiently to be able to give him uneasiness. I do not think that Lally, at any one time since Hyder's death, has had more than between one and two thousand men under his command, and those were disciplined

plined and paid by himself; he has had latterly very few Europeans, not more than 150 on a large computation.

It was in the beginning of September 1790 that Tippoo directed his steps towards the Gauts; but no sooner had he published his intention of facing General Meadows, before an universal discontent and fear, which manifested itself in loud murmurs, pervaded all ranks at Seringapatam, and it was reported that the army was not better satisfied. Those who remained in the city were far from reposing that confidence in his army which the tyrant flattered himself they would, and could not divest themselves of the apprehension of an English siege, with the consequences of falling into the hands of an enemy that had such ample and just cause for vengeance. The army again dreaded an attack in descending the Gauts, which they already  
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concluded were in General Meadows's possession, and consequently judged it impossible to escape a total defeat.

Tippoo received the first intelligence of Colonel Floyd's situation and strength by two European deserters from the grand army, and hastened to intercept him, in the full persuasion of commencing this war with a second Conjeveram business. That this depended much upon the crisis of that day cannot be denied, and that the bravery and exertions of the troops who resisted such superior force is as meritorious as it was important, will never be disputed. The loss which Tippoo sustained in this attempt was industriously concealed, but it certainly was considerable, it being whispered at Seringapatam to exceed greatly in number the whole force that opposed it, notwithstanding the exaggerated and discredited accounts which Tippoo transmitted of his

his boasted victory. The earliest intelligence of the engagement was accompanied by the remains of five of Tippoo's principal officers, who had fallen in the action.

Nothing, I am well convinced, prevents many of his dissatisfied subjects from deserting at this present time, but the certain death or vassalage to which they would expose their wives and families, whom Tippoo always secures before he raises a person to any place or office of trust, as hostages for his fidelity and good conduct.

Even the very favourable representation of the rencounter with Colonel Floyd could not entirely banish the terror of a blockade from the Mysorean capital. Tippoo's obstinate disposition was no secret to his subjects, and the horrors of a siege, together with the excesses a large army confined to the limits of the island would commit,

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presented themselves in lively colours to the citizens, some of whom had beheld the scene once before, not to revive their alarms, and threaten them with the prospect of perishing, if no otherwise, by famine.

The late progress of the army beyond the Gauts, &c. has, no doubt, in part realised the fears of the Mysoreans, whose situation must be distressing; and I should not in the least be astonished, if the accumulation of their burdens and wants became (which cannot be very remote) so intolerably oppressive, that they positively refuse to submit to the tyrant, and surrender the capital. I am induced to form this conjecture from what I remarked when our forces were at a great distance, and when so many obstacles and impediments might still be thrown in their way. Tippoo then frequently found it necessary to put such persons clandestinely



to death as shewed their dissatisfaction and distrust too openly, that they might not spread the contagion.

Tippoo had engaged Colonel Floyd with nearly the whole of his numerous and newly-recruited army ; he had employed all his art and address to magnify the advantages of a very fruitless and inglorious attempt ; but when he discovered that the real state of the affair was not to be disguised, though few were hardy enough boldly to avow the truth, he ungenerously resolved to avenge himself on the unfortunate prisoners for his miscarriage, and hoped, by sacrificing them, to appease in some measure the friends of the slaughtered sirdars. Pursuant to this resolution, he ordered all the captives that were with the *Chaylaks*, besides six of the most refractory tradesmen, to be put in irons and conducted to the hills, preparatory, as was intimated to us by  
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our guards, to our being offered up as victims to the manes of the deceased.

Two days before this removal took place, I had hid myself in one of the cavaliers of the fort, terrified at the idea of visiting the hill forts; but being much pinched by hunger, and reflecting that my absence might accelerate whatever mischief was destined for those companions with whom I had been a fellow-sufferer for so many years, I could not persuade myself to abandon or expose them to additional danger merely on my own account, I therefore delivered myself up on the day we marched, determined to meet whatever fate awaited me. Nothing but the remorse which I felt at entailing on the other captives the certain resentment of a barbarian, whose implacable disposition was well known, prevented me and many others, I believe, from trying with more eagerness than

than we had done to escape, hoping constantly that some fortunate moment, or unforeseen change, would one day or other effect the release of the whole of us at once; nor was it easy to resist the earnest prayers, entreaties, despondence, and sometimes even threats of our wretched brethren in affliction, from whom it was difficult, and almost impracticable, to conceal any such design; to this, in a great measure, may be attributed the very few defections that took place. Tippoo, without doubt, knew too well that nothing was more likely to secure his prisoners, than the anxiety they took for the safety of each other, a bond more binding than any fetters he could fix upon them. In the year 1787, five men besides myself had actually resolved to trust our lives in a boat on the Coleroon, and let the current carry us where it would, though we had been  
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informed that a cataract on the route rendered this enterprize extremely hazardous; but we were certain it would carry us from Seringapatam, and nothing which could befall us afterwards appeared half so dreadful as remaining in slavery there. We had nearly constructed a basket-boat for our purpose, made of bamboos, which we got ready split from the *Dhomwallas*, or basket-makers, and had secured leather to cover it with. An old uninhabited house served to hide our materials and machine in; the split bamboos were concealed under the thatched roof, so as not to be immediately discovered by any person looking accidentally into the house. The boat itself was buried in a large hole in the ground. Two of us used to steal away for an hour or two in the night, and work by turns whenever we found it practicable. Is  
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came, however, to the knowledge of the rest, and alarmed them so much, that we yielded to their supplications, and abandoned the project, as it was impossible to build, or even procure, boats to convey the whole of us at one trip.

## C H A P. IV.

*Description of Seringapatam—the prisoners leave that place and are sent to Outradoog—after various difficulties they effect their escape—the author loses his companions.*

**B**EFORE I proceed farther, I will give the reader as accurate a description of the capital as my information and capacity will admit.

The present capital of the kingdom of Myfore is situated on an island of the Cavery called Seringapatam, about four miles in length and nearly two in breadth; it has two bridges thrown over the Cavery, one to the northward, and the other in the opposite point; the former is defended by a strong battery

tery mounting twenty-three guns, (six, eighteen, and twenty-four pounders) placed a very little to the eastward of the bridge, and a double battery mounting six guns in each row at the very foot of it; the latter is defended by a battery of seven iron twelve-pounders. There are also three fords in the river, the principal of which lies north-east of the island, within half a mile of the northern extremity; another opposite to the north-east corner of the fort, defended by thirteen guns, and planted on a cavalier which stands five or six paces in the rear of the battery guarding the fourth bridge; and the third is near the center of the island, more than a mile below the fort. The fortress is a square, the south-east side of which is best defended, having three cavaliers mounting four guns each on the outer-works, and two more of three guns each on the upper works, with three

redoubts of six or seven guns each, carried out on the glacis. The south-west side, on the contrary, is the weakest part of the fort, as the river is very shallow at that place just opposite to the water gate and a pagoda which is built in the river. The north is defended by three cavaliers mounting four guns each, (twelve and nine-pounders) with six or seven flanking batteries, mounting each four nine-pounders. The twenty-three gun battery stands likewise on this side, and the south side is defended by three other cavaliers mounting three six-pounders each, and seven more flanking batteries of three or four small guns each, besides fourteen guns over the great gate, one eight and the rest six-pounders.

The fort has three principal gates, one north, the other south-east, and the third south, besides three water-gates, two to the northward, and one



to the south-west, immediately opposite to the pagoda in the river. The north ditch runs out of the river, and joins it again below the seven-gun battery to the north-east; there are two dry trenches to the south-east and the south; the river is very deep from the bridge as far as the pagoda.

Tippoo has a granary in the fort at the end of the king of Mysore's palace, which contains all sorts of grain produced in the country, consisting chiefly of rice and raggy, with ghee,\* oil, sugar, and spices of different kinds.

There are two gardens on the island full of large trees, one is surrounded by a mud wall, and called *Dowlat Durgah*, and the other is the burial place of the late Hyder Ally, and is called *Loll-Baug*, these, with two

\* Butter made from buffalo's milk.

avenues leading from the fort to the latter, contain the only trees that are to be found on the whole island. Tippoo cut down last year a forest of beetle-nut trees, which stood to the eastward of the south bridge. Opposite to the fort, at the distance of about half a mile, stands another forest, where Tippoo is erecting a powder manufactory, with mills upon European principles, and where he has a foundry for casting cannon, constructed by one of the mechanics lately arrived from France, all of whom, excepting the doctor and the surgeon, reside at the place, which gave it the name of the French Colony.

About three quarters of a mile from the south bridge, in the same direction, is a nullah, or branch of the Cavery, with a bridge thrown across it, which leads to Mysore the ancient capital; the nullah rises out of the river about

half a mile above the island, and runs in the same direction as the river till it joins it again a little below the fort, encompassing a long slip of land, and forming a second island; a trench is carried quite across the island of Seringapatam, but from the north avenue to the river it is covered, all the rest is open with only one bridge over it. The country on the north side, close to the river, is *paddy*, or rice land, intersected by a number of small nullahs; from the south bridge, as far as the extremity of the island, it is all the same; the rest of the island is pasture land. A little to the eastward of the south bridge is a considerable silk manufactory. The pettah of Seringapatam is near the center of the island, of a square form, about half a mile broad, with very regular and commodious streets at right angles.

Having thus given some idea of a place which will be better known after the present war, I shall prosecute my own adventures.

On the 22d of September 1790, I finally left Seringapatam. Tippoo had no sooner marched us out of the fort, than we were divided into three parties and separated. It is needless to say, that our parting was truly affecting; we took leave of one another, as for the last time, like men that were to undergo certain death, after spending ten years of sorrow together, and endeared to each other by mutual sufferings: the human heart, under such circumstances, is always most susceptible of friendship. Each man received on this mournful occasion, three seers of rice and three pice, which was the last subsistence I ever had from the tyrant.

At the time that we were taken out of the fort, twelve deserters from Tellichery were brought in, but it is not in my power to give any farther account of them. During my imprisonment frequent desertions from the garrison occurred. Prior to my leaving the city, a Captain Bee and four Europeans, amongst whom was another captain, whose name I have forgot, passed by the place; I spoke to them, and was informed, that they had been sent for by Tippoo, but for what purpose they did not know: the whole made a very miserable appearance.

One of our parties was detached the same day to Narandroog, the rock so fatal to Lieutenant Rutledge, which is not above fourteen miles to the northward of Seringapatam, but intercepted by a range of hills; one to Sundra-*Sunder.* droog, another high rock about sixty miles north-east of Seringapatam; and  
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the last, to which I belonged, to Outra-droog, also a very high and steep rock, nearly fifty miles north-east of the capital.

I was five days on the road to this place, and when within a few miles of it, our guards, for what reason I cannot tell, were augmented to almost double their original number: they conducted us to the foot of the rock, where we entered a narrow and very steep path cut through a thick forest. We all suffered dreadfully in travelling bare-footed up this rough and difficult ascent, being very much hurried, notwithstanding the weight and incumbrance of our irons. There are two or three forts on this rock, one above the other, and at the summit is a kind of battery. Some Malabar iron guns joined with hoops, and two old English nine-pounders, (which afterwards proved the source of my delivery)

very) composed the whole artillery of the place.

Immediately on our arrival we were carried before the killadar, where we heard read the order which had accompanied us from Tippoo: it directed him “ to guard us with vigilance and “ strictness until farther instructions, “ to put us instantly in fetters, and to “ allow us no provisions ;” which plainly indicated that it was not intended we should live many days.

We were now in continual expectation of being dragged out to suffer a miserable and cruel death; our existence hung on the will of a tyrant who had already so often displayed his insatiable thirst for blood, and manifested his present design by prohibiting us our common food; we knew too well what fate awaited such as were condemned to these rocks; we also were apprized, that if even our sentence was  
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by some accident suspended for a short period, the moment the tyrant met the smallest check in the field, the fatal blow would be struck. He had often declared, that none of the European prisoners should be saved, for sooner than part with them he would murder them.

Hope had never forsaken me, during the whole ten years of my captivity; I constantly flattered myself with an opportunity to escape to an English settlement; but, at this juncture, I could not avoid yielding to despair, as no possibility of extricating myself from the present danger and confinement appeared. Had we even been unfettered we could not have got away, as the only communication with the rock was guarded by a line of sentries, and to survive long under such circumstances was folly to expect, as famine, if nothing else, must put a period to our lives,



lives. We had, however, resolved to perish our own way the moment any violence should be offered us, and also to watch for an occasion to attempt an escape, should it be even that of attacking our guards when they came to examine our prison; we thought we might safely venture on any step, let it be ever so desperate, as nothing could be risked by a failure of success, our lives being already forfeited: this resolution enabled us to wait the issue of our fate with some composure.

Gratitude will not allow me in this place to withhold the just acknowledgements due from every one of us to Tippoo's Hindoo subjects; they constantly commiserated the situation of the unfortunate European prisoners, and saved the lives of many by their timely humanity and assistance, when the unfeeling conqueror denied us food. The *Kenneries*, or natives of that country,

try, (it is to be understood, that I do not mean such as are actually in the service of the sultan, or such as have been corrupted by him, neither such as are intimidated from following the bent of their inclinations, by being under his immediate inspection and influence) of whom I shall have occasion to speak again in the course of my travels after absconding from Outradroog, are a very quiet, inoffensive, and humane race of men, many of whom do not even know the name of their ruler, or have the least idea of the despotism they live under, being too remote from the immediate object of tyranny, and too much attached to peace and indolence, to be inquisitive about who receives the revenues of the country, or who dissipates them, conceiving the whole duty of their lives comprised in tilling their grounds, paying their taxes, and adoring their cows. This is the harm-

harmless and benevolent set of people who are the objects of Tippoo's persecution, whom he labours to convert to Mahometism, and whom he can only render unhappy if he ever effects his cruel purpose.

We had now been supported nearly five weeks almost entirely by the charity of the inhabitants of Outradroog, except sometimes our misery created the pity of our very guards, though accustomed to behold distress with indifference, and perpetrate murder at a single nod. We began to wonder why our execution was so long delayed, when, by a most singular stroke of good fortune, it entered into the killadar's head to have his old and rusty artillery repaired before his European prisoners were sent out of the world. I happened to be the person appointed, and being instructed to survey his guns,  
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to report what they wanted, and to issue directions for putting them in serviceable order, he suffered me to be conducted to the different parts of the rock where these useless cannon were planted. It cannot be suspected that I refused my aid, when it is remembered, that this was the only opportunity I should have of reconnoitering the rock. I was accordingly lavish in my promises, and the credulous killadar seemed highly pleased with the idea of having his cannon put in complete repair. I did not fail to avail myself of this occasion, minutely to examine our gaol as well as the forest below, and the country surrounding it, observing only as much precaution as was necessary not to betray my design, or alarm the suspicions of my guards. The different situations of the killadar's guns, which obliged me to go all round  
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round the rock, proved peculiarly useful, and enabled me to make the utmost advantage of my time.

When I returned to my companions I faithfully related every thing, and informed them that I had seen a road by which we might descend the rock undiscovered. It was immediately agreed that we should, without losing time, make the attempt, and so great was our joy in consequence of my proposal when it was first started, that we entirely forgot we were under close confinement and very strictly watched, and supposing this difficulty surmounted, that there was great probability of our being detected before we could clear the fort, that our irons embarrassed us, that we had half a mile to walk on the rock, a high precipice to throw ourselves over, a thick forest abounding with wild beasts to rush into at the foot of the rock, and, above all, that

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we had to elude five or six guards, which would oblige us to penetrate deep into the wood, and often to creep on all fours : but these obstacles presented themselves very obviously as soon as the ardour of our fancy had a little abated ; yet we determined to make an effort, although a difficulty occurred which had nearly overthrown the whole, I mean that of agreeing about the most eligible method of carrying our plan into execution ; this dispute simply arose from the complacency with which every individual regarded his own opinion, which he infallibly considered the wisest and best, and consequently proposed it for adoption. After a long discussion and much consultation, the only possible expedient was at last fixed on, and we came to a resolution of breaching the mud wall of our prison, and getting out in the night.

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The only necessary precaution was silence. The nights on which we found the guards engaged in gambling, or other amusements, were therefore assigned for our operations, to the accomplishment of which, an old knife being the only instrument we had, the work of course required time and great patience: we had not proceeded many nights with digging and watching by turns, before we found this tool insufficient for the purpose, the wall being uncommonly thick. We then thought of another way of effecting it, by constantly pouring water in the hole to moisten the earth till soft enough to be dug out. This scheme promised better success, and was less exposed to discovery.

We employed twenty days in undermining and sapping the wall, during which time we communicated our intention to seven of our companions

who were confined in an adjoining room, and with whom we were permitted to converse during the day, and they accordingly commenced in like manner. As we had little to do all this time, we turned our thoughts towards liberating our legs; in this we likewise partly succeeded, by means of a penknife which one of the prisoners had hid in an old mat when we were searched on coming to this place; the large knife had been secretly given to us by one of the Carnatic people who was employed in coining pice at Outradroog. We heated the small knife till it became red hot, then cut notches in it with the large one, and having converted it to a little saw, we worked incessantly when unobserved, until we had cut quite through the rivets of one leg, which by that means could be disengaged, and both the iron rings drawn on the other; by muffling the chains with



with old rags we could also prevent any clattering or noise.

We had resolved, in case of a discovery, to attack our guards before they had time to secure us, and either to fight our way out of the place, or fall in the attempt, as all would be over with us if a discovery happened. We had for this purpose selected the largest and stoutest sticks of the wood, which now and then, with the killadar's permission, had been brought to us to cook (when we had any) our rice. The whole garrison, at this time, did not exceed sixty or seventy men, and we thought it much more advisable, in case of a detection, to let it come to such an issue, than tamely to submit to a certain death in a much more disgraceful manner. A dozen desperate men fighting for their lives have before performed extraordinary feats. Several native prisoners were,

besides, confined in the fort, amongst whom were some Travancorians, a subadar, and a jemmadar, &c. These people had one day caught us with our irons off, and might have betrayed every thing, if one of our prisoners had not fortunately seen them in the same situation a day or two before, having liberty to visit each other during the day, as all the prisons were contiguous; we took care to remind them of this circumstance, and mutual interest, I believe, preserved the secret. It looked, however, as if the guards began to suspect us the last two or three days, for they examined our fetters very particularly; but we had luckily procured out of the bazar a piece of lead, through one of our companions who set up for a doctor, and was suffered to prescribe for the garrison. With the lead we filled the holes of the rivets so exactly, as to render the

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deception discernible only to a very nice scrutiny. Our doctor was of singular service in more than one instance, and was the means of preserving our lives frequently by what he earned by prescribing to the simple Outadroogans, who had taken a great liking to his harmless physic. Two days before we escaped, he received a whole sheep from a polygar, who was on his way with 500 of his dependants to join Tippoo, for having administered a dose to him of common country spirits, which put him in the finest humour in the world.

The 27th of November was fixed upon for our grand attempt, and on that evening every thing was in readiness for our purpose. As soon as it was dark we began to remove the earth, but to our great mortification we found ourselves at midnight below the surface of the ground; this cha-

grined and alarmed us much ; but reflecting that something was necessary to be done immediately, we began by concealing the earth we had dug out in earthen pots, and hung a large blanket before the hole when day appeared. It was clear, that we should not long be able to hide the situation of the wall, I therefore worked all the next day, supplied the place incessantly with water, and kept wet cloths in it to moisten the upper part, where the breach was to be enlarged or raised. My companions kept singing and making a noise all day, that the bustle I made might not be heard. Every thing was a second time ready by night on the 28th, and having found the breach practicable, we gave notice to our companions in the next room, who joined us before eleven o'clock. The guards had lately indulged us with keeping the prison door open till near eight, but

but this evening we feigned sleepiness, and they too were fortunately engaged in gambling. The first step we took was to disengage one of our legs, and to muffle and fasten the irons on the other. We then tied our rags about us, and provided ourselves, each man, with a couple of *raggy* cakes, which had been laid up for the occasion.--- Being the person that was to guide the rest, I crept out of the breach just at twelve o'clock, with the large knife in one hand and a stout stick in the other. It was soon found that the hole was not large enough to admit some of my companions, I was therefore obliged, though at a very great hazard, to go to work on the outside to enlarge it with my only tool the knife; in a very short time, however, I opened it enough for the largest amongst us. As soon as the whole had got through, we assembled with all possible silence, and

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I, according to agreement, conducted the party over the mud wall that surrounded the area of the prisons, which was between seven and eight feet high on the inside, but much lower on the outer on account of the rising of the rock. There was another wall, called the Fort Wall, about 150 paces farther on, which entirely encompassed the top of the rock, and between these two walls was a guard placed over some native prisoners, which we could not avoid passing very near. A slight shower, which fell just at this crisis, proved therefore extremely favourable; the rain drove the sentinels under cover, and we plainly saw them sitting smoking round a fire in the verandah of the prison in great security. The shower continued till we had safely cleared the outer wall, near which there was another guard, but not directly in our course; we now proceeded to the precipice

precipice which I had not been able to examine with sufficient preciseness to determine either the exact height or nature of, but as I had undertaken to conduct my companions down the rock, I proposed to descend first; accordingly I threw myself upon my hands, and in this manner meeting no resistance or any rest for my feet, unable to recover myself, I slid down the rock greatly terrified at the rapidity of my fall, as I found the precipice higher than I imagined, or than it had appeared from the top of the rock; I was relieved at last by catching hold of the branches of a small tree which grew near the bottom, and broke my fall, by bringing myself up against the trunk of it. I had unfortunately, it seems, gone to the steepest part of the precipice. Shortly after I was joined by my companions, who had followed my example, and saved themselves by  
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the shrubbery and small trees which covered the entire bottom of the precipice. It was near one o'clock at this time, and the moon, as we expected, began to shine, having calculated that we should be clear of the guard by the time of her rising, which was very apropos.

I have before mentioned we were twelve in number, eleven Englishmen and a Frenchman, who had incurred Tippoo's displeasure. We immediately directed our way towards the thick forest that environed the foot of the rock. I suffered extremely in traversing a thicket before I reached the wood, both from the sharpness of the prickles and thorns, and the ruggedness of the rock, being obliged to creep on all fours. By the time I was half through it, I was alarmed by the challenge of a sentry, whom I could not see, nor do I think it possible he could have seen me,



me, being buried amongst the bushes. It was probably the rustling amongst the leaves which attracted his attention, and he was undoubtedly more frightened than myself, tygers being very common in this part of the country. I made, however, a full stop, and turned immediately farther to the eastward, (or up the rock) having attended particularly, when reconnoitring, to that part of it where no guards or sentries were posted, continuing in the manner described, by a very slow descent, to move round the rock by a south face, where I had slipped down to the opposite point, when I struck into the wood where the rock was not so steep, and the guards all cleared.

It had been determined, that we should follow a northerly direction, in hopes of reaching the Nizam's dominions, but I missed my comrades the moment I had entered the thicket, and never  
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heard of them afterwards. About two o'clock I had disengaged myself from the thicket, but the circumstance of missing all the rest of the party gave me much uneasiness, and naturally produced various conjectures, nor could I any other way account for so strange a separation, than by supposing that they had purposely deserted me, fearing, perhaps, that I might prove an incumbrance to them the rest of the journey, being in a very weak state of body from a fever which had assailed me a few days before; I thought they might, for this reason, have judged it adviseable to get rid of me, although they had shewn more consideration for my quota of the cakes, which they took along with them, wisely concluding that I should very soon have no occasion for them. Ungrateful as this procedure may appear, I rather hoped it might be the cause of our separation

paration than that any mischief had befallen them, for I no sooner reached the country below, before I heard the found of trumpets and *tom toms*,\* which I conceived to be an alarm in the fort on missing us, and no doubt search was immediately made. I much feared, that in spite of the cautions I had given them, they might have descended through the thicket in too strait a line, which would either bring them direct upon some of the out-posts I had warned them of, or throw them in the way of their pursuers. The loss of my poor cakes gave me, I confess, great concern, as I was extremely feeble, and very uncertain of soon meeting with any food; but reflecting that Providence alone could save me, and that it behoved me to make every personal exertion in my

\* Indian drums.

power before I gave up all for lost, I continued my course on the plain which bounded the forest in a northerly direction. I can never be sufficiently thankful for a very extraordinary and fortunate circumstance, viz. that the fever, which had regularly visited me for some time before, never returned after this day, though the anxiety and pain to which the last twenty-four hours had exposed me could not be favourable to convalescence.

When I had advanced about five miles on the plain, I stumbled suddenly on a mud fort, which I never discovered until challenged by a sentry on the walls. I judged it most prudent to return no answer, and taking a circuit round it, I continued my course without farther interruption till day-break, when I found myself within twenty paces of two of Hyder's troopers, who were cooking their victuals

tuals on the bank of a tank ; it was too late to shun them, I therefore resolved to march boldly on, hoping to pass unnoticed as one of the country people, for which reason I wrapped myself up in my blanket, and passed them near enough to overhear their conversation : they were just deliberating who I might be ; one said, “ There goes certainly “ an European ;” the other repeated, “ You fool, from whence should an “ European come here ; don’t you see “ it is a woman ?” at that instant my irons happened accidentally to rattle, which decided the contest, and confirmed the last opinion, the noise being taken for the sound of those bangles, or brass ornamental rings, which the women of India wear round their arms and legs ; I was, in consequence of this circumstance, suffered to pass without being interrupted, though not with-

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out having felt great anxiety for the ticklishness of my situation.

I walked on a couple of miles farther after this adventure to a wood, which I reached about sun rise, and immediately found a spot pretty well covered, where I laid down to rest for the day, judging it imprudent to travel but in the night. I had not lain down long before I grew quite stiff, and felt a pain in my bones ; examining the leg that my irons were fastened on, I found, that constant rubbing against it had made a deep hole, which now gave me great uneasiness, though whilst agitated and warm with walking I had not perceived it. I now discovered, that unless I could disengage myself from the irons, it would be vain to think of proceeding, as, independent of what I suffered from them, my feet were extremely sore from traversing the sharp.

sharp-pointed stones of the rock. Fortunately the large knife had remained with me, with this I fell to work, and happily, before night set in, had totally removed the fetters. I felt my spirits much exhilarated from this circumstance, and seemed quite refreshed, though I eat nothing the whole day. Intent on pursuing my journey, I mounted a hill near me, from whence I reconnoitered the country for many miles round, and gained a tolerable idea of the direction proper to follow, in order to avoid plains as much as possible. It was sun-set when I resumed my course, and, after passing the wood, I had, unavoidably, a large plain to cross, on which I had observed a mud fort and cattle grazing, but notwithstanding which I reached about midnight a range of hills that run between Bangalore and Seringapatam in an easterly direction, and which

I had taken notice of before dark. I halted here, having to ascend the hills which were very rough and over-spread with thickets, that rendered the passage undiscernible in the dark. Four days did I wander amongst these huge mountains and craggy hills, without meeting with any food, or even a drop of water, though I had been less cautious with respect to the time of travelling, finding no traces at all of human beings. I felt myself so very weak and reduced at last, that unless the next day brought me relief I must perish, and therefore resolved to make one desperate effort, the following day, for clearing the hills. I laid down to rest with this resolution, and fell asleep notwithstanding the gnawing hunger that promised speedily to put me beyond pain altogether.



## C H A P. V.

*He is in danger of perishing by hunger, and is relieved by an Hindoo woman—escapes from two tygers—is seized by a party of Tippoo's polygars, from whom he escapes—is received by a detachment of the Mahratta forces, protected by Captain Reid and the English troops—arrives at Fort William—concluding observations.*

NEXT morning, which was the 4th of December, I rose with very miserable prospects, but tottering along, I was fortunate enough, almost immediately, to discern a hamlet of a few huts amongst the hills! This unexpected sight gave me new animation, knowing very well that I was in no

danger from people with whose charitable dispositions I was well acquainted, and who seemed as dropt from Heaven for my succour; understanding, besides, the *Kennary* language, I had it in my power to pass for any body I pleased, and should they even discover who I was, there was no room for apprehending they would hurt me; such is the humanity and peaceable temper of these harmless villagers. It may seem incredible to some, that I should have existed five days without food, and four without a drop of water, under such bodily fatigue and anxiety of mind, but to my very reduced state do I attribute my surviving it; let it also be remembered, that I had been pretty well inured to hunger during my long captivity, where our allowance was so frequently stopped, and where we often remained one, two, three, four, and five days, without any food whatsoever; nay,

may, I well recollect, that during my close confinement in consequence of Lieutenant Rutledge's affair, I was near seven days without eating.

I approached the hamlet, and from the first person I met, which was an old woman, demanded some charity to save me from starving. She entered into conversation with me, and the sound of our voices instantly brought several other women out of the huts, who perceiving how weak and emaciated I was, expressed great compassion for me, and each went and brought me some of her homely fare, consisting of boiled *raggy* and gram water made into a *curry*, which proved the most welcome and savoury repast I ever made. I passed myself upon these kind old women for a *Rajepoot*, knowing few or none of that cast were to be found in this part of the country. The few men that belonged to the hamlet being all em-

ployed in the field, the women and children only remained at home, though I should have been equally safe had the men been present. When I had told them that I was returning to my own country, they pitied the painful and fore condition of my feet, and immediately brought some warm water, with which they bathed them. When I left these compassionate and benevolent creatures, they furnished me with a couple of *raggy* cakes, being all the prepared provisions the hamlet could produce after I had satisfied my hunger, and seemed to be much concerned for my safety. One of them pointed to a road which they warned me against following, saying, that it led directly to one of those polygar forts with which the country abounds; a piece of information which I received with pleasure, as it was the very route, till better instructed, which I had determined to take.

take. I left my charitable benefactresses with a heart overflowing with gratitude and many melancholy reflections. Their hospitable treatment reconciled me so much to life and the company of mankind, that I could not avoid deploring the little probability which existed of my ever joining my countrymen. I rushed into the wood, and took a great sweep to avoid the polygar fort and such as might belong to it, knowing well how widely they differed, in point of meekness and humanity, from the simple and good-natured *Kennarees*, the recollection of whom afforded me sufficient subject of contemplation for the remainder of the day.

The following morning I was fortunate enough to fall in with a parcel of trees bearing a berry much resembling in colour, shape, and size, our flows; knowing this fruit to be very

wholesome, I devoured as many as I was able to eat on the spot, and afterwards gathered as many more as I could carry away, being determined to reserve the cakes which I had received from the hospitable *Kennarees* for a last resource.

I continued to travel in a northerly direction, as much as possible amongst the woods, until the eighth in the evening, when coming to a plain which I must unavoidably pass, I all at once perceived, to my unspeakable terror, two tygers not above 100 paces from me, coming right across the plain: it was the first time in my life that I had ever seen these animals alive: I saw them approach without losing my presence of mind, but they seemed not to notice me until the instant they were opposite to me, when, to my great satisfaction, they turned away with their tails between their legs, and in a long  
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trot disappeared. It will easily be believed that I was in no hurry to follow or overtake them, but suffered them to get entirely out of sight before I proceeded. I am, however, from this adventure, led to give some credit to the reported pusillanimity of the tyger, who, it is said, will seldom attack a person unless by surprize, or a sudden leap, like that of a cat at a mouse, which he will not resume if he misses his aim; and I cannot avoid believing, (as it flatters my vanity) that these two were actually afraid of me, which, could I convey the appearance I made at the time in an exact drawing, might produce less wonder.

About an hour after this rencounter I fell in with a troop of polygars returning from hunting, and I truly confess their appearance alarmed me much more than that of the tygers, being the danger I most of all apprehended,

ed, and from what followed it will appear that my fears were not groundless. They instantly took me prisoner, and carried me to a mud fort, to the westward of the forest; it was not quite dark when we reached it, and I had just time to notice a large *tank* behind it, which immediately struck me as the safest road to follow should I be fortunate enough to give my new captors the slip. They conducted me into the fort, and took me immediately before the chief, or commander of their own party, who addressed me first in the *Kennary* language, which pretending not to understand, he asked me in *Moors*, where I came from, and who I was; I replied, that I was a *Rajepoot* disabled in Tippoo's service, and now returning to my own country; he desired me to produce my pass or discharge, which I told him I had lost on the road. During this interrogation,  
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I perceived that the by-standers eyed me very attentively, and casting my eyes down, I saw a hole in my blanket through which my skin appeared, the colour of which did not correspond with my face, which I had rendered pretty dark by washing it with tobacco water, the only remedy I had for the wounds which the briars and thorns daily bestowed on my naked feet.\* I overheard their conjectures, although not suspected of understanding them, which, after some altercation in the *Kennary* language, terminated in what was actually the fact, *i. e.* that I could be no other than some European deserted from the *Chaylabs*. The chief

\* Bristow was naturally of a swarthy complexion, which had not been improved during twenty years residence in this country, particularly the latter part of that time, when, as a captive, he was exposed continually to the effects of the climate.

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then commanded them to secure me in the center of the fort, which had three different gates, one within another, being surrounded with a triple wall. I now perceived that I was not only discovered, but had fallen into the hand of people who were, by their discourse, adherents to Tippoo. My new lord told me in *Moors* to make myself easy, and that I should be well fed and not hurt ; but his consolation administered little comfort to my mind, and I began to shudder at the thoughts of returning once more to the clutches of the barbarian. I was left in charge of one sentry until the killadar's determination with respect to me could be obtained, and had the satisfaction to hear my sentinel receive orders not to bind me before the commander had been consulted. It was evident, that all hopes of escaping the impending danger, and of avoiding a second visit

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to Seringapatam, depended upon the exertions and success of the moment. I therefore resolved to make the attempt, and the moment the crowd (who followed the Polygar to the killadar's house, on purpose to have the earliest intimation of my fate, with as much eagerness as if their whole welfare depended on knowing it) was dispersed, I vehemently complained of thirst, and implored the sentry to bring me a draught of water. I was in reality very weak when taken up by these people, and on their seizing me I pretended to be much more so; this circumstance, and my poor appearance, deceived the sentry so easily, that he never dreamt, I suppose, of my attempting to walk off, and therefore, without any suspicion of my design, he went for the water. The instant he was out of sight, not losing one second

second in reflection, I wrapped myself carefully up in my blanket, and strutted boldly out of the fort, passing all the three gates without any interruption or suspicion, the passages being crowded with people and cattle returning from the fields. I did not hasten my pace till I had got to the distance of about fifty yards from the outer gate, when turning to the right, I crossed a *Paddy* field with all the expedition I could muster, and then waded through the tank which I had taken notice of on coming into the fort. When I had crossed the tank, I ventured to look behind me, and perceiving a great number of lights moving backwards and forwards, which I concluded to be the Polygars in search of me, and fearing some one of them might go round the tank without a light, and thus come unexpectedly upon me, I set forward with all the speed I could in a westerly

western direction for about an hour, when, finding I was not pursued, I turned again to the north, and travelled for three successive nights over an open country, being obliged during the day to hide myself in caverns and holes. In the mean time I found myself under the necessity to break upon my cakes, though I knew not when I might meet with another supply; I trusted, however, that the same Providence which had hitherto supported me would not withdraw its assistance when it should be no longer in my own power to make personal exertions. I was, at any rate, reconciled to my fate, and had made up my mind to whatever my destiny might have prepared for me, being always indifferent to every thing except that of being carried back to Tippoo.

I continued, notwithstanding the excessive fatigue attending that mode of

travelling, to wade through innumerable tanks and water-courses which flowed from the hills that I was now approaching; I preferred this mode, troublesome as it was, to that of walking round the banks and borders, that I might not fall in with Polygars, or other hostile people inhabiting the villages which in general are met with in India where there is a piece of water, not knowing of what dispositions or casts the natives of these parts might be, and having, ever since my last adventure, dreaded nothing so much as any animal in a human shape.

The fourth morning, which was the 12th of December, I fell in with some straggling rocks here and there covered with thickets, and being very tired, and exceedingly hungry, having consumed my cakes, notwithstanding the sparing applications I had made to them, I seated myself in a thicket, and,  
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overpowered with hunger and fatigue, dropped to sleep. After a rest of some hours I woke, and though excessively weak I thought myself refreshed by the nap, and consequently moved two or three miles farther, when, to my inexpressible joy, I again discovered some of those berries which had formerly relieved me. I instantly stripped every tree, by first satisfying my hunger, and then loading my blanket with the residue, which engaged me for the remainder of the day. With this last supply I continued to travel until the 15th at day-break, when, to my great terror, I found that I had got amongst a number of villages upon a large plain, with a mud fort lying immediately in front of me. I already saw the people quitting the fort to follow their occupations in the fields, and found that it would be impossible to avoid them. To give as little suspicion, therefore, as

possible, I resolved to meet them boldly, hoping by that means to pass for a traveller unworthy of notice. I had hitherto, whenever forced in the night to traverse plains, observed the precaution of striking out of the way the instant I found myself on ploughed ground, or discovered any indication of inhabitants; but this time I had met with no tokens to warn me before the day brought to view the scene I have related.

I was not suffered to proceed far, before a party of Polygars stopped and examined me. Having already, from the conversation of the people who had passed, discovered that one of Tippoo's regular battalions garrisoned the fort, I conceived it would be impossible to pass for an Indian amongst men composed of all the different casts and nations of India; I therefore, without any seeming hesitation, sharply replied



plied in Moors, that I came from the English camp, and was proceeding to *Gootie*. They asked, what carried me thither? — I answered, some of my companions and friends captured with General Matthews last war, had taken service with the sultan, and had written me to join them, giving a very favourable account of their situation. *Gootie* was the only place on Tippoo's frontiers which I had ever heard of, and knowing it to be contiguous to the Nizam's territories, which was the road I proposed taking, I concluded it safest to name this place. They suffered me not, however, as I had wished, to proceed, but carried me into the fort, and brought me before the killadar, where I underwent a second examination in the presence of the Polygars, but took care to repeat exactly the same story. The killadar put many questions respecting

the Carnatic to me, at the same time informing me that he was a native of that country, and was always happy to hear from his home. As I was very unable to give him satisfactory answers on this head, I thought it best to say, that I had only six months before arrived from Bengal, and was a stranger on this coast, but that such parts of the Carnatic as I had travelled through appeared in a high state of cultivation. He inquired about the strength of our army; I answered, in general terms, that it was very numerous, and exceeded the utmost it ever had been during the last war. He asked, how I came to be so miserably reduced and naked, saying, it was not customary for Europeans to travel without clothes. I replied, that I had only brought four rupees out of the Carnatic with me, which were long ago expended, as I had not expected the journey would be  
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so tedious, since which time I had subsisted by begging; and with respect to my clothes, I had been obliged to throw them away, finding it unsafe to travel as an European, and that, if I had been re-taken, nothing would have saved my life, being a deserter, but that my present disguise had afforded me protection. He seemed to credit this assertion, and having ordered me some victuals went away. In about an hour he returned to interrogate me afresh, and tried, I plainly discovered, if I would contradict any thing I had said, and by way of founding me thoroughly, told me the Mahrattas had lately plundered the country all round, and that they then were encamped with a very strong force only seven or eight coss off, and advised me to take service with him. I answered, that since I had encountered so many hardships in order to

meet my friends, I would by no means relinquish the attempt, or enter into service with any other power, but proceed directly to *Gootie*, if he would suffer me to continue my journey. To this at last, to my unspeakable satisfaction, he consented, and to impress him with greater confidence and faith in my sincerity, I requested permission to remain that night in the fort, and that he would be pleased to instruct me what road to take to avoid the *Mah-rattas*.

Next morning, which was the 16th, I set out from the fort, provided with two large *jarra* \* cakes, some *chatney*,† and a guide, who had the *kildadar's* orders to shew me the way. The moment I was restored to liberty again, my joy was so great that I scarcely could credit my own senses,

\* A kind of flower.

† A pickle.

and for some minutes thought myself under the illusion of a dream. It was certainly a wonderful escape, to get away from one of Tippoo's own forts when I had so little chance of making my own story probable: it was undoubtedly a very fortunate circumstance for me that the killadar proved a good-natured, simple man; the natives of the Carnatic are in high esteem with Tippoo, and many of those that were taken last war enjoy distinguished posts under his government; the *deroga*, or chief of the treasury at Seringapatam, for example, is one of them.

The guide I had been provided with soon grew tired of his charge, and displayed no reluctance at being permitted to leave me. I did not long continue the same road after he was gone, but immediately took the old northerly direction, and travelled with all possible expedition upon the scanty subsistence  
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of my cakes, and such berries as I could pick up, until the 23d at night, when coming into some very high and broken ground, I was discovered by the sentry on the walls of a mud fort, who challenged me. I had perceived lights on my first getting into the broken ground, which I strove to avoid by inclining to the left, and as I was moving off, I suddenly saw two lighted torches held up, and at that instant the sentry challenged me; this made me conjecture I was perceived, particularly as more lights immediately afterwards issued from a watch-house that was at the bottom of the rock on which the fort stood, and dispersed. Fearing therefore that I might be surrounded, I turned about and made for a wood in the rear, which I reached in safety, and walked for three miles to the westward until I came to another rock,

rock, which was nearly at the dawn of day; from this place I had a full view of the last-mentioned fort, and finding a tolerable secure cave, I laid down to sleep. About three o'clock in the afternoon I was disturbed by the bleating of sheep, and looking through a crevice in the rock I saw men at work in felling timber; I remained quiet till sun-set, when rising to take a view of the country, I heard a strange noise, and looking towards the place whence it arose, I beheld, to my utter astonishment, a bear very busy in preparing a den under the very clift where I reposed.

The moment I was able to determine what road to take I descended the hill, much dejected for want of food: I travelled all night, only halting occasionally from extreme weakness, and the pain of my fore and swelled feet: in the morning I had  
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the good fortune to reach a village, which lately, perhaps the day before, had been plundered by the Mahrattas; here I picked up, among the deserted ruins, about half a seer of rice, and nearly as much *raggy*, a few chillies, a little tobacco, an old earthen pot, and a strong bamboo walking stick, which proved of singular service to me afterwards as a supporter. I sat down and devoured some of the rice, which I soaked in water, without cooking it; after this seasonable meal I pursued my journey, and before I had gone far I discovered a *Jarra* field, and thought the opportunity of laying in a supply of provisions not to be neglected, I therefore spent the remainder of the day in plucking off the heads of the grain, and rubbing them between my hands.

I found that I was much weaker at this period than I had imagined, being obliged,



obliged, at very short intervals, to have recourse to rest, and with all my endeavours was unable to travel above five or six miles in the course of four and twenty hours. Notwithstanding the daily accumulation of my distresses, my spirits never entirely forsook me, but the impossibility of holding out much longer was now too evident, having so considerably added to the very reduced state of my strength since I left Outradroog; resolved, however, to exert myself to the last, and strain every nerve, I continued to faunter on, sometimes among woods and broken rocks, and sometimes over plains, until the 27th, when I came to the banks of a small nullah, which had nearly terminated my sufferings with my life. The attempt of crossing it so effectually exhausted my small remains of strength before I could reach

reach the opposite side, that I should inevitably have perished, if I had not fortunately caught hold of some bull-rushes which grew in the water on the side of the nullah. In this struggle for life I lost my earthen pot, my tobacco, and all the provisions I had left; besides I was so much fatigued and expended when I had climbed up the bank, that I laid myself down on the grass with very little hopes of being able to proceed. A few hours sleep, however, refreshed me a little, and resolution lent me new strength; in short, I made shift to combat hunger and fatigue until the 1st of January. This hilly country was so extremely barren and inhospitable, that a few wild berries composed the whole of what I existed upon during the last five days. Without experiencing the horrors of hunger, anxiety

xiety bordering on despair, and great bodily pain, it cannot be conceived what I suffered and felt.

On New Year's Day I had got within sight of the termination of the long range of hills, at the foot of which I had so long been travelling ; but just as I began to entertain some faint hopes of being at last within the reach of relief, a new and apparently insurmountable obstacle presented itself to my dejected eyes, as a bar to all future prospects of being rewarded for my late sufferings.

The Tangbaudar River, which runs in an easterly direction, at the distance of seven or eight cofs to the southward of Gopaul, being the limits of the above-mentioned range of hills, now lay immediately before me. No human probability of gaining the opposite shore appeared, as no boats were in sight, and feebleness had so totally disabled

abled me, that swimming was not to be thought of. In this dreadful perplexity I looked eagerly around, in order, if possible, to distinguish some piece of wood, or branch of a tree that would help to bear me up through the stream ; but in vain. Without allowing, however, distress and despair to conquer all my hopes, I moved slowly and sullenly along the banks of the river, and, after some time, I spied a ferry-boat ; my heart now expanded with joy, and I fancied nothing remained but to step into the boat and be rowed over ; but, as ill fate would have it, the ferry-man, to my unspeakable disappointment, would not even suffer me to approach his boat. I feared, by too hastily soliciting a passage, (for I was unequal to force) to hazard a discovery, the consequence of which I dreaded more than death itself. Obligated to submit to my destiny, I

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went back resolved to proceed in an easterly direction along the banks of the river, until I should meet either with a ford, or some other mode of crossing, or, what seemed much the most probable, with a termination to my miseries by death.

After proceeding as before mentioned, on casting my eyes to the opposite side, I saw two large forts at some distance, and heard at the same time the discharge of cannon, whence I concluded the forts to be besieged either by us or some of our allies. This increased my anxiety to cross the river, and redoubling my efforts, I continued travelling until the next day about three o'clock in the afternoon, when, perceiving a guard, I halted. I afterwards discovered that this was a Mahratta guard stationed between the river and the extremity of the hills as a scout; but uncertainty and fear at this time

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determined me to avoid it, in consequence of which I was obliged to take a circuit, and cross the extremity of the hills. I reached the foot of them about sun-set, and found them covered with verdure, perceiving no covert or shelter for wild beasts in the neighbourhood, I lay down less dejected indeed than might be expected, and slept till morning; at day-break I began to ascend the hill, and had not advanced far before I met an old woman watching her cows, who gave me a *raggy* cake, and advised me to keep well to the left, if I wished to avoid another guard posted on the other side of the hills. My better destiny certainly directed my steps to this good-natured old woman, nor was this the first time since my captivity that I was indebted for my life to the aged part of the sex, my good genius of late had absolutely never appeared to me but in the

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the shape of an old woman; the last pointed out the most traversable part of the rock, and on the fourth day I reached the opposite plain, where the adjacent fields supplied me with some grain, which preserved me from perishing, and enabled me to pursue my course once more towards the river, the stream of which I continued to follow four days longer, but with so little effect, from the excessive reduced state of my strength, that I only advanced seven miles in all that time. On the fourth day I found myself near a mud fort, which I had not previously observed, and was suddenly surrounded by a number of Mahrattas, and taken up and carried before the Nalputty rajah who was proprietor of this fort. The rajah was then engaged in making preparations for taking the field in the morning, and had therefore no time to attend to me, but

directed that I should be retained in the fort, and taken care of until he should return.

During his absence I gradually recovered part of my former health and vigour; it was soon discovered that I was an European, and the rajah's son, a humane young man, who was left to command the fort in his father's absence, was extremely kind to me. A native doctor was ordered to heal my wounded and excoriated feet, and abundance of provisions were given me, though I did not venture fully to indulge my appetite from the weak state of my stomach. I had recruited my health and strength pretty well by the 12th of February, when the rajah returned, and I was next day taken before him. Having learnt since my arrival that he was one of those Mahratta rajahs whom Tippoo had dispossessed in 1785 and



and 1786, but who had availed himself of the approach of our troops in 1790, (Bowberjung, the tributary, whom Tippoo had placed in the rajahship, having retired) to recover his ancient territory and right, and that he consequently was no partisan of the Mysore sultan, I frankly answered his interrogatories by a plain confession of the simple truth. He seemed much affected at my narrative, pitied my sufferings, gave me a piece of cloth, of which I stood in extreme need, having no covering to my nakedness but the blanket I had brought out of Outradroog, and invited me to enter into his service. I concluded, that the surest way of obtaining the liberty which I now panted after, (finding myself sufficiently strong to face new fatigues) would be to assent to the rajah's request. I therefore readily accepted his offer; in consequence of which I was imme-

diately released, and desired to demand whatever I wanted ; I returned very submissive thanks for the rajah's promises of preferment, and affected to be much satisfied with my situation. That night and next day I walked about at pleasure, and had already inspired the people of the fort with so much confidence, that nobody seemed to notice my departure, between the hours of nine and ten, on the 14th at night, when I proceeded directly towards the river, which at this place was about 200 yards broad, but in general narrower, but so bold had my recovered strength rendered me, that I plunged in and swam over immediately, though I had been informed of a ford a couple of miles farther to the eastward.

The possession of the Nalputty rajah is called Comlipore, and the fort is remarkable for having a high rock in front of the entrance, with a white pagoda

goda at the top that entirely commands it ; it lies about four and twenty miles south-east of Gopaul.

I had discovered from the people in the fort, that Gopaul was the place I had distinguished at my first approaching the river, consequently I directed my course towards it the moment I crossed, and walked without intermission or interruption until about eleven o'clock the next day ; I then halted to take some refreshment, being in the center of several villages ; and provided with four pice in money, being the produce of my allowance of rice from the rajah's granary, received the day before I left the fort, which I immediately carried into the pettah, and sold it that I might not travel penniless.—About three o'clock in the afternoon I set out again, and got near Gopaul half an hour after dark, when some of the Nizam's people, after hearing my

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tale,

tale, picked me up, and sent me on an elephant to Mouberjung's camp, where I was somewhat astonished to find myself confined under a guard; but reflecting that I was in the hands of an ally, that English troops were present, and that any mistake with respect to me would speedily be cleared up, I lay down to sleep pretty easy in mind. Next day, being the 16th, I was early in the morning taken before the bukshy, who put a number of questions to me, all which I answered by desiring to be conveyed to the English commander. A guard immediately was sent along with me to his encampment, but being absent on the batteries himself, I had to remain whilst his orders could be received, an object of curiosity to the troops, to whom I was represented as a Frenchman, sent by Tippoo to succour the fort, and taken up by some of the Nizam's people  
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in the attempt. Some hours had elapsed, and my situation began to grow irksome, and the spectators troublesome, though no violence was offered to me, when fortunately Lieutenant English returning from duty on the batteries, beheld the crowd, and having inquired into the cause of it, carried me from the Nizam's guard to Captain Dalrymple's marquee. I related my history, together with the particulars of my escape, to this gentleman, who congratulated me on my fortunate delivery, ordered me what refreshments I wanted, and presented me with some rupees; he likewise gave me a coat, a hat, and some linen. Thus I found myself once more, after ten years of cruel captivity, apparelled like an European, amongst men of honour, and restored to liberty.

Next day Captain Reid, who commanded the English detachment, or-

dered me to come to him in the batteries. I related the whole of my sufferings from the time of my becoming a prisoner in the Carnatic; he heard me with surprize, and kindly offered to furnish me with a safe conduct either to Madras or Bengal, whichever I should desire.

I remained until the 26th of February in Captain Reid's camp, receiving every mark of generosity and favour from the officers, and supplied by their liberality with necessaries for a long journey; I set out from camp on the evening of the 26th of February 1791, with a guide and a servant boy, for Pangul, the Nizam's court, where Captain Kennaway, the resident with the subah, was to renew my pass through the Decan. On the 8th of March, after travelling 216 miles in a stile very different from my former journey, I reached Pangul, and waited

immediately upon Captain Kennaway. After producing my pass, and relating my adventures to him, I requested his aid and permission to proceed to the grand army: he seemed, however, to think the undertaking too hazardous, if at all practicable, but offered to grant me a pass either to Fort St. George, from whence I might easily join the army with one of the convoys, or to Masulipatam, where I should be at liberty to follow my own inclinations. I chose the latter, and after remaining at Pangul till the 25th, and having continual kindnesses conferred on me by Captain Kennaway and the other gentlemen resident there, I set off for Masulipatam, well provided with every thing necessary for the road.

On the 3d of April I reached Condepella, where Major ——— commanded; he was also extremely good

to me, gave me ample supplies for the little that remained of my journey, and hearing that I could give some information respecting the works and situations about Seringapatam, and on the island, and also that I was extremely desirous of joining the grand army, and render any little services within the small compass of my power and abilities, he generously wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis in my behalf. On the 5th of April, early in the morning, I set out again, and on the 7th reached Masulipatam, having travelled since I left Pangul 260 miles, and altogether from Captain Reid's camp at Gopaul 476 miles, without, however, having met with any thing deserving to be mentioned, or suffering any hardships.

At Masulipatam I had the satisfaction of meeting one of the four men who fled from the detachment forming  
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at Peripatam in 1782, and whose escape had proved so fatal to the remaining eight, and in fact to all the prisoners. This man's name is Richard Higgins, and he holds the appointment of Key Serjeant to the garrison. I staid with him five days, and was entertained with cordiality, good-nature, and all the kindness which the satisfaction and happiness of rejoining a fellow captive, who, like himself, after incredible sufferings, had escaped from slavery, could inspire. He confirmed every circumstance I had heard respecting their escape, and seemed to recall those past misfortunes with a kind of awful pleasure to his memory.

Seven days after my arrival at Malulipatam, I took the opportunity of an old Parriah vessel, entirely manned by blacks, to embark for Madras with two more Europeans of that establishment.

ment. We were in sight of Fort St. George, when a violent gale of wind drove us out to sea again and tossed the damaged and leaky ship about for several days with unabated fury. Fortune seemed not yet quite tired of persecuting me, for we laboured in vain to recover the roads of Madras. Thirty-six days we lived on a quarter of a seer of bad rice, a few salted onions, and half a pint of water per day, suffering consequently not less from want and the fear of starving than the danger of foundering. The southern monsoon drove the vessel, in the mean time, up the bay in spite of us, but we did not reach Ingelee until the 6th of June, two days after all our provisions on board had been consumed. On the 7th we made shift to proceed up to Kedegree in hopes of relief, and luckily fell in with a pilot vessel, where, with the other Europeans,

ropeans, I was taken on board, and some food and refreshment given us. The next morning we were sent on shore to Mr. Wheatly, who treated us very humanely, kept us a couple of days to recover strength, and then furnished us with provisions and a boat. On the 11th of June, 1791, I arrived at Fort William, after an absence of ten years and eight months; three months and twenty-five days of which had been spent in the service of my country, nine years, nine months, and twenty-two days in slavery, partly as a prisoner of war, and partly as a captive retained in defiance of faith and the law of nations.

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The above is a relation of what one obscure individual suffered, whilst in the power of a conqueror who degrades humanity. A little before I left Seringapatam, I took particular notice of

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two merchants from the Nizam's dominions, who suffered with astonishing fortitude; they were daily, during the Cutcherry hours, which are from eight in the morning until six in the evening, pinioned with their arms and legs to the ground, and whilst in this posture, lying on their backs, with their faces to the sun, a fellow on each side kept continually pricking them with long and pointed needles. Three lacks of rupees was the stipulated price for their release, but nothing could be exacted from them, except the promise of remitting the money if they were suffered to return to their homes, on the performance of which Tippoo, however, did not seem much inclined to rely. The whole property of such as die (which is nothing uncommon) under the rack, if discovered, is confiscated, but as the proprietor, in general,

ral, entrusts very few with the hiding-place of his money, it is not often found out. I cannot tell what became of these two men, but I have known many others that were really thought and known to possess money, hold out till the last moment, without betraying their possessions. Martyrs of this kind are very common in India.

I cannot conclude this narrative without expressing my acknowledgements to the gentlemen in Bengal, who generously exerted themselves in my behalf on my first arrival, and, moved by my sufferings, offered me their aid and support. The kind recommendation of these gentlemen, as well as that of several others, induced Colonel Murray, the Military Auditor General, to commiserate my situation; and to his good offices and liberal interposition,

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It is owing that I have recovered my full arrears of pay for the whole time of my imprisonment.

F I N I S



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